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# NARRATIVE

Of the Late TRYAL of

M<sup>R</sup>. James Mitchel

A

Conventicle-Preacher,

Who was Executed the 18<sup>th</sup> of January last, for an Attempt which he made on the Sacred Person of the Archbishop of S. Andrews.

To which is Annexed,

An Account of the TRYAL of that most wicked Pharisee Major THOMAS WEIR, who was Executed for Adultery, Incest and Bestiality:

In which

Are many Observable passages, especially relating to the present Affairs of Church and State.

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In a Letter from a Scottish to an English Gentleman.

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Reprinted at DUBLIN, 1679.

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S I R,

I Received your Letter, wherein you charge me with unkindness for having neglected to write unto you for the last six months; and you also tell me, you cannot imagine what hath made me so silent all this while, that others have sent their Correspondents in *England* so many letters of *Scottish News*. But what you seem to make an aggravation of my fault, I must retort upon you in my own defence, and tell you plainly, that being a Person incapable to write certainties in State-matters, and too honest to write lyes, I could not prevail with my self to follow the ill example of many of my Country-men, whereof some maliciously Wrote their own Forgeries, and some out of weakness their Jealousies, and Fears, and all pretending to understand not only what were, but what would be the Intrigues of *Halyrud-House*, fill'd their *Muddiman-letters* with their own Inventions, instead of real Truth.

The Reports which these Instruments of Mischief sent to *London*, rebounded as quickly hither again; and considering how foolishly some, and how maliciously others of their stories were contriv'd, I cannot but sigh for the unhappiness of my Countrey, where these coyners and dispersers of false News, like the false Prophets in the Kingdom of *Israel*, are a National judgment, and a grievous Plague both to Church and State.

Therefore, let me prevail with you for the time to come, to give as little credit to the flying Reports, which are sent from our Country, as I do to those which are sent from yours; and that we may both grow wiser by other mens Follies, and take surer measures in our future correspondence, give me leave to propose, that we write nothing hereafter, but matters of Fact, and confine our selves to relate such useful, and worthy Contingencies, as might become an Historian of his own Age. By observing this rule, we shall keep our selves within the safe bounds of Prudence, and Duty, and profit one another by our mutual correspondence, without abusing the credulity of the vulgar, or injuring the *Ministers* of publick Affairs.

Wherefore, that I may put my own advice into practise, and be a good example to my own rule, the Subject of this Letter shall be a faithful Narrative of the Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution of one of our *Presbyterian Preachers*, who made an attempt on the Sacred Person of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* in the month of *July*, 1668. The Story is very comprehensive, and will invite me to speak of many particular things,

and persons, and it will be difficult for me to pass through it all without touching a little upon publick Affairs, in doing of which, I shall endeavour to perform the part of a faithfull Historian, in keeping to my rule of Writing nothing but matter of Fact.

I have already fix'd the beginning of this Story in the month of *July*, 1668. But the execrable wretch resolv'd to do the Fact 2. years before he did it, and languish'd a'l the time for want of an opportunity to execute his inhumane design. At last, having observ'd, that the Lord Primate us'd always to go about this Town in his Coach, he resolv'd to Pistol him in it; and accordingly on Saturday of the aforesaid month discharged a Pistol, loaden with three Bullets at him, which were intercepted by the arm of the Lord Bishop of *Orkney*, who at the same instant was getting into his Graces Coach: As soon as he had shot, he walked fast away, and as he crossed the Street, the Primate got a view of his face. He was not immediately pursu'd; which gave him opportunity to escape into the House of one *Ferguson* an ejected Minister, which being in an obscure place of the Town, he had prepar'd for a retreat, in case he could get safe thither.

There having disguised himself by putting on a Periwig, and changing his Clothes, he immediately went into the Street again, and made as great a bussel as any in the throng to find out the *Assassin*, who had shot at the Primate, and, as he hop'd, had kill'd him in his Coach. He was known by none in the crowd, but by three of his Confederates, who had come to Town on purpose to assist him in his bloody design.

Their designations, or Titles were *Barscob*, *Mandroget*, and Major *Lermouth*, who had been Ring-leaders in the Rebellion at *Pentland-Hills*, in the year 1668. The *Assassin* joyn'd himself with these three; and after a Consultation what they should do for their further security, they unanimously resolv'd to retire into the Garden of Sir *Archibald Primrose*, the now *Justice General*, or to speak in your Phrase, the *Lord Chief Justice*; who had for many years the misfortune to be esteem'd a favourer, and encourager of the Fanatical Faction, though it be hard to imagine how a man that hath got'en so great an Estate by the Kings Royal Bounty, should have so much favour for the worst of His Subjects, unles he hath lost a'l sense of Gratitude and Honour.

Certain it is, that there are such Monsters of disloyalty, and Ingratitude in the World; and as certain it is, (though he be not one of them) that the credit he hath with that party encourag'd this Murnival of Rebels, and Murderers to shelter themselves the following night within his Precincts,

rather than any other Man's in this populous Town. But the morning approaching, they thought it safer to quit the Town, and the other three conducting Mr. *James Mitchel* (for that's the name of this abominable Man) he made a final escape by their assistance, and was never after seen in this Country, till the latter end of 1673. In this Interval betwixt July 68. and the latter end of 73. he had rambled through *Holland, England, and Ireland*; from whence he return'd to his Country, resolv'd (as it seems) to assassinate the Primate again. Not long after his return he married, and repair'd with his Wife to *Edinburgh*, presuming, that after more then five years absence, he might live *incognito* here, at least so long, till he could find another opportunity to execute his bloody design. In order to which, he hir'd a Shop within a door or two of the Primate's Lodgings, where his Wife pretended to sell Tobacco, and Brandy, and such like things.

But he had not long frequented there, before he was discover'd, and apprehended upon suspicion; and when he was taken (which was on the same day of the week, and in the same place where he had formerly stood to commit the fact) there were two Pisto's found about him, in size, and shape like that which the Primate saw him hold in his hand, immediately after he had shot at his Grace; and upon search, they were also found to be charg'd with three bullets each. Being apprehended by Sir *William Sharp*, he was immediately brought to his Brother the Primate's Lodgings; and though a great croud had pressed in after him, yet his Grace knew him at first sight from all the rest, (such a deep impression the transient view he got of him after the shot, had made upon him) and going streight up to him, without any hesitation, he said unto him, *You, Sir, are the Man*; upon which the wretch trembled, and grew pale.

Not long after, he was conven'd before the Privy Council, and the Duke of *Lauderdale* his Majesties High Commissioner then sitting in Council; but he would confess nothing before them; which made the Right Honourable *Bord* depute a Committee for his farther examination; before which he freely confessed the fact, and afterwards acknowledg'd and sign'd his Confession before the King's High Commissioner sitting in Council, with the Lord *Halton* the Treasurer Deputy, the Earl of *Rothes* Lord Chancellor, and some others of the Council subscrib'd as witnesses; and this Paper was brought at his Tryal against him as a *judicial* confession of his crime.

After this examination of him before His Majesty's High Commissioner sitting in Council (which happen'd in *February, 1674.*) he was put upon his Tryal in the Criminal Court. But after his *Libel* which your Law calls

calls the *Indictment*, was read, he deny'd it, and retracted the confession; which he had freely made without any promise of pardon before the High Commissioner, and the Council; upon which Sir *John Nisbet His Majesties Advocate* ( who, notwithstanding his fair pretensions to the Church, either loves or fears the Fanatical Faction too much ) seem'd very much surpriz'd, and desisted immediately from his prosecution, desiring the Judges to Adjourn the Court, and from that time would never pursue the murderous Villain again, although he was oblig'd by his Office to do it, as well as by the Arch-Bishop; who in *Causa Sanguinis* would not pursue him himself. The Judges also at that time had no great Stomach to sit upon the Tryal of this bloody Saint. So that the Privy Council were forc'd to send him Prisoner to the *Basse* ( a Rock in the *Forth*, where I wish all his Brethren were ) where he continued till the latter end of last *December*, when the Privy Council sent for him to be Try'd again.

About this time it was rumour'd about Town, and Country, that the *Whigs* ( for so we call Fanaticks ) design'd to take off both the Archbishops, and some other Bishops by assassination; and likewise vehement suspicions, and presumptions were found, that they had the like design on other eminent Persons, who were most concern'd, and resolved to see them reduc'd to order and obedience. And therefore the Council thought it expedient, to prevent such barbarous attempts, and secure the Lives of His Majesty's faithful *Ministers*, to bring Mr. *Mitchel* to publick Justice, that the *Remonstrant Prebyterians* of our Country might see, what their *Clements* and *Ravillacs* were to expect.

Since the Duke of *Lauderdale* came last hither, Sir *John Nisbett* resign'd his Charge, and his Majesty put Sir *George Machenzy*, a Learned, and worthy Gentleman into his place; who in obedience to the order of the Privy Council, pursu'd this common enemy of Mankind, with a Courage, and Zeal, that became such a gallant Man, and a good Christian: although he foresaw, he must for ever disoblige that implacable party, which hath sworn to extirpate Episcopacy here.

You may easily judge with what deliberation, and caution this miscreants Process was made: Seeing his Tryal was dependant four days: for he was arraigned on Monday to the seventh of *January* in the Morning, and received not Sentence till the following Thursday at two in the Afternoon. As the Privy Council were very just, so were they exceeding merciful to this inhumane Man: for at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, they commanded Sir *George Lockhart*, one of the best Lawyers of this Nation, to be of his Counsel, and had he been the greatest Subject of

of three kingdoms, his cause could not have been more strenuously defended, nor his Process made with more care.

The first day was spent in reading the Libel and discussing some preparatory doubts, necessary to be determined by an *Interlocutory* sentence, before the *Affize*, which you call the Jury, could be impannell'd, and the witnesses sworn. The doubts were three. First, whether that confession, which the *Pannel* (for so we call the Prisoner at the Bar,) made before the King's High Commissioner, and the Privy Council sitting in Council were *Judicial* or *Extrajudicial*? The second was: whether if this confession should be made appear to upon hopes, or promise of pardon; it should not serve for the *Pannels* exculpation? And the third was, whether by a certain Act of Parliament made for the security of his Majesty's privy Counsellors, and Officers, the attempted assassination of the Primate, who was, and is, a Privy Counsellor, were capital, or no? All which preliminaries the Judges deliberated upon, and debated among themselves on Tuesday, and on Wednesday following pronounced their *Interlocutory* in the affirmative upon the several heads.

You may perceive by the terms wherein I am forc'd to couch the Narrative of his Tryal, that we have much of the *Civil*

\* *Duck de usu, & autoris. leg. Civ. l. 2. c. 10.*

*Law*. Indeed it is the *\*Common Law* of our country, and takes place in all cases that cannot be determined by our Statute, or Customary Laws. I know very well you understand nothing of it, but yet your Reason

cannot but suggest unto you, that an *Interlocutory* is opposite to a *definitive* sentence; and that this is nothing but the *final doom* consisting in the condemnation or absolution of the *Criminal*. So th' other is a decision of such incident, and emergent matters of Law as interyene betwixt the beginning an end of the cause. *Lancelot instit. juris. Canon. l. 3. Tit. 15. Paragr. 1.*

But to return to my Narrative, after the *Interlocutory* was pronounc'd, the Jury was impannell'd, and the witnesses sworn some of whose depositions I shall set down as I heard them, and I think, I shall never forget them, as long as I can remember my name.

The Keeper of the *Talbooth's* Son, (for so we call the Prison here) depon'd, that having asked the *Pannel*; how he could do such a Barbarous Action in cold blood against a man, that had never done him wrong? he answer'd, That it was not done in cold blood; for the blood of the Saints was reeking yet at the Cross in *Edinburgh*. By the *Saints* he meant the Rebels at *Pentland-hills* in 1666, one of which he himself had been, and



some Principals whereof, that were taken in the Field, had been executed about two years before at the Cross in *Edinburgh*.

The Lord Bishop of *Galloway* (whom no good Church-man here ought to mention without honour, and respect) having first asserted the privilege that is granted to Bishops to have their depositions taken at home according to the Civil, and Canon-law, and protested that his Obedience to the Court should be no prejudice to that privilege, depon'd, that having ask'd the Prisoner what moved him to make such a bloody attempt on an innocent man? he answer'd, That he did it, because he apprehended him to be an Enemy to the People of God.

The Lord *Halton* deposed, that having ask'd him how he durst be so wicked, as to do such an execrable Fact? he answer'd, That he did it because the Archbishop was an Enemy to the Godly people of the *West*.

Furthermore the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Halton*, testified upon Oath (for with us the greatest Peers must be sworn) that he own'd the confession produc'd in the Court before the Privy Council, and acknowledged their names, which were subscrib'd under it, and the Panel could not deny his.

These Depositions being taken, there was no way left to save the Panels neck, but by making it appear that he had made this Confession upon promise, or hopes of Pardon, and therefore his Advocate desir'd, that the Lord Chancellor might be call'd to declare upon Oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon promise, or Oath to endeavour to secure him, life, & limb, as he alledged his Lordship did. But he declar'd upon the great Oath he had taken, that he never made any such Promise, or Oath unto him; and the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the Lord *Halton* being also called to depone upon that particular testified, that they never knew that the Lord Chancellor or any other had encourag'd him to make that Confession upon hopes, or promise of Pardon, which if it could have been legally prov'd, he must have been absolved.

The impudent Villain likewise desired the *Lords Justiciary* (whom before I called the Judges in your style) that the Primate himself might be cited into the Court to declare upon Oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon a promise to endeavour to procure his Pardon; to which being sworn he answer'd, that immediately after his apprehension he took him aside to discourse with him in private, where he did assure him he forgave him, and would endeavour to save him from publick Justice, if he

he would confess the Fact; but that upon this encouragement, he would make no Confession, nor ever after offered any to him; so that though he still forgave him, yet he did not conceive himself bound to endeavour his preservation after more than five years obstination in his crime.

There were many other Witnesses ready to depone, of which there was no need. One of them could have testified, that he heard him say, that he would do the Fact, if it were to be done again; and another could have depone'd, that he heard him say: let me but shoot at him again, and I'll be content to be hanged, if I miss. The Jury, which consisted of Fifteen Gentlemen, unanimously found him guilty; and when sentence was pronounced, that he should be carried to the common place of Execution, and there be hanged, he told the *Justitiary Lords*, that he took it as from God, but not from them.

Since he was condemned, he desir'd that some Conventicle-Ministers that are imprison'd with him, might be admitted to give him Comfort, and obstinately refused the assistance of the Ministers of our Church. However one of them went to him to remind him of the Murder he was guilty of in the Eyes of God, though he suffered him not to effectuate his design. But instead of making any impression upon his hardned heart, or receiving common acknowledgments for his good will, he received nothing from him but reproaches, being told by him that he was a Murderer of Souls, and had the blood of Souls to answer for, with many more rude and Enthusiastick expressions, which would be too long to relate.

He was a lean hollow-cheek'd man, of a truculent Countenance, and had the air of an Assassin as much as a man could have. He came with his Periwig powder'd to the Bar, and behaved him self there, with as much assurance as men devoted to do mischief by their Principles and Complexion resolve beforehand alwayes to do.

As for his original, 'tis so obscure, that the mean Proletarian condition of his Parents affords me no notice of his birth. And as for his Education after he had passed through the subsidiary part of Learning, he was sent to the *Colledge* of *Edenburgh* in the time of the late Usurpation; where he made very small Progress in any part of good Literature, but apply'd himself to the reading of such silly Fanatical Books, as were fit, for his narrow capacity, and Enthusiastical temper; So, that the acquir'd or artificial part of Fanaticism ( which *Whigs* call Grace ) being added to his Nature, he might qualifie himself for Employment, and Reputation, especially, among the Remonstrator-Presbyterians, who were then the principal part of the *Kirk*. This Faction, especially in the

West, was advanc'd so far towards Enthusiasm, that they despised and suspected men of Learning, and Sence, and began to look upon it as a stinging of the Spirit to spend any study or time in preparing themselves to Preach. The People especially were so possessed with this opinion, that if they came to know, that their Ministers preconceiv'd, much more penn'd their Sermons in their Studies, they thought it a sufficient ground of withdrawing from them, as believing it utterly impossible to receive any spiritual benefit from such carnal Sermons, as were compos'd by the help of Study, and Books.

Among these People it was, that *Mitchel* design'd to Teach, and Preach, and therefore after he was graduated Master, ( which is here at the end of Four years ) he applyed himself to the Study of Popular Divinity under Mr. *David Dickson*, a great Apostle of the Solemn League and Covenant, under whom he continued his method of Reading modern Fanatical Pamphlets, that he might be an able workman, and compleatly furnished with all those *Canting* affected Phrases, which discriminate a spiritual from a Carnal Preacher among our Presbyterians, and are Musick, and Charms to their Enthusiastical Ears. And that he might add the Practical to the Speculative part of Fanaticism, and be perfectly Master of his Trade, he frequented those private meetings; where Conferences, Prayers, and Sermons were spoken in that Dialect, and where Tone, Grimace, and Gesticulations are far more powerful than all the true Learning and Eloquence in the World.

Having acted sometime in these Nurseries of Enthusiasm, he thought himself fit for any Ecclesiastical Employment, and therefore offer'd himself to be tryed by the Presbytery of *Dalkeith*, who rejected him for insufficiency, as some yet alive can testify to the *World*.

After this repulse he began to project some other way of Living, and was shortly after recommended to the Laird of *Dundas*, to be Pedagogue to his Children, and Domestick Chaplain for saying extemporary Prayers. He passed sometime in this Family for a guifted, and very Holy young man, till some of the Servants observed an extraordinary familiarity betwixt him, and a young Woman, who was the old Gardners Wife. Being possessed with this suspicion, they observed him the more, and one night as they were watching, they saw his *Mistress* go to his Chamber, which was a Summer house built on the Garden wall. The Key as it happened was left on the out-side of the door, which one of those that watched observing, gently locked the door upon them, and immediately ran to call his Master, who came to the Garden to see what would be the



the event. After they had been as long as they pleas'd together, at last *Hortensia* comes to go out ; who to her great confusion finding the door locked, slips back to the Adulterer, who fearing that she should be taken with him, immediatly let her down the Garden wall, by the help of his Shirt, she hanging at one end, and he holding the other as naked as when he was born. His Patron all this while beheld him like a filthy *Priapus* upon the Garden wall, and the next day in great indignation discharged him of his service and house : I suppose this is one of his particular and private sins, which you'll find him hereafter confessing in his speech, deserved a worse death than he endured.

Afterwards he came to *Edinburgh*, where he lived some years in a Widows house, called Mrs. *Griffald Whitford*, who dwelt in the *Cow-gate*, and with whom that dishonour of Mankind Major *Weir* was boarded at the same time. By his Conversation, it may be presumed, that *Mitchel* improved much in the art of Hypocrisie, and drunk in more deeply those Murderous and Treasonable Principles, which he afterwards practised in the whole course of his life, and justified at his death. Now began he to converse with the most Bigot Zealots against Authority, to frequent and hold Conventicles to Preach up the Covenant, and to the utmost of his power to promote the Schism, which was begun in the Church. By these practises he much endear'd himself to his Tutor Major *Wier*, who recommended him for a Chaplain to a Fanatical Family, the Lady whereof was Niece to Sir *Arch. Johnston* Laird of *Wareston*, one of the most furious Rebels against the late blessed King, and greatest compliers with the late Usurpation in the Three Kingdoms, and whom you may remember to have been *President of the Committee of Safety*; for all which accumulated Treasons he was executed here in 1663.

During his abode in this Family, broke out the Rebellion of the Fanatics in 1666. He no sooner heard of it, but joyned with the Rebels, who were defeated at *Pentland-hills*; Though *Mr. Welsh* ( as it is reported ) during the Fight, prayed with up-lifted hands to the Lord of Hosts against *Amalek* ( as his Spirit moved him to miscall the Royal Forces ) and had his hands stayed up by some of his Brethren, as *Moses* had his by *Aaron* & *Hur*. *Mr. Mitchel* had the Fortune to escape from the Field, but was afterwards proclaimed Traytor, with many other Principal Actors in the Rebellion, and afterwards excepted by name in His Majesties Gracious Proclamation of Pardon, that he might receive no benefit thereby. From this time he skulked about, and sheltered himself among the Rebellious

Saints of the Brotherhood, till the Devil tempted him to Assassinate the Lord *Primate*, for which he hath expiated by his blood.

Among others of his Excellent qualifications, I have told you what an utter *Ignoramus* he was; and I cannot forbear to tell you further, that *Welsh*, and *Arnot*, and all the rest of them are full as illiterate as he, and that their insuperable ignorance in Divine and Humane Learning is the Mother of their Murdering Zeal. Indeed all the late Troubles upon the account of Episcopacy, are chiefly to be ascribed to the shameful ignorance of Protestant Divines in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, who looking no further back into the History of Religion, than the time of the Reformation, and some of them not so far, did either hate Episcopacy as an Usurpation, or else looked upon it as a meer human Constitution, and so could not have that particular Veneration for it, that was due to an Apostolical Ordinance so visibly founded in the Scriptures, and which was the sole invariable Government of Gods Universal Church for above One thousand five hundred years.

Of this, that excellent man Mr. *Henderson*, was a deplorable example, who though he was a man of great Temper, and Prudence, and very Learned in his way, yet want of Antiquity, of which he was so ignorant, was the unhappy cause, why he engaged for the Covenant against the King, and the Church. Had he spent but half so many hours in that as he did in the Study of other things, he had never moved so excentrically to the Church, nor done those things, for which he expiated with tears before His late blessed Majesty at *Newcastle*, afterwards spending the short remainder of his life in a sorrowfull Penitential Retirement; for which he grew suspected by his Brethren of the Covenant, who called him Apostate from the Cause. There are many persons yet alive, who can testify this to be true, which may teach all Divines, how dangerous it is for them to live in ignorance of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, which is so easily acquired, and so useful to be known. That comprehensive Genius Mr. *Calvin*, wanted nothing but this to make him as Orthodox, and Consummate a Divine as ever was in the Church of God: for had he been but half as well versed in the more primitive Ecclesiastical Writers, as he was in St. *Augustin*, he had never coin'd the notion of a Lay-elder, defended the *Horrible Decree*, or been exposed for so many absurdities by meek b *Cassander's* Pen.

But to conclude this Digression with Mr. *Henderson*, there were very few among our Covenanting-ministers comparable to him for Prudence and Learning, and yet even the lowermost Form of our former Presbyteri-

ans were Great men in comparifons to thefe of *Remonstrator Factions*, who are all burning Zeal, but no knowledg, as you will perceive, not only by the fequel of this Story, but this Letter of an ignorant Miniſter, that lately Revolted from our Church.

SIR.

**I** Received your Letter of the 15th of July, wherein you ſay, That on the firſt Wedneſday of Auguſt, you are to have a Presbytery (you ought to have termed it a meeting of the *Exerciſe*) and on the ſecond Wedneſday of Auguſt, a Provincial meeting with your Biſhop of Rotheſay; and once for all I deſire you may take this for an abſolute Answer. Firſt, That God hath of a long time been dealing with my Conſcience, but eſpecially ſince October laſt, when I was called to Mul for Electing Mr. Andrew Wood Biſhop (I confeſs his want of the *Irish Language* did ſtick with me, beſides many other things as well now as before, about the Election of Mr. James Ramſey, and all of you, ſave one, did then profeſs, that they did ſtick with you alſo, though now you have ſwallowed down that Pill with many more) and that in ſuch an Extraordinary dreadful, and terrible manner, for my engaging to Prelacy, and a Lordly Government over the Church of Chriſt (contrary to which there lie ſo many ties, and obligations on this Land) that with the Grace of God I would not adventure to abide the terror of the Lord for all the ſtipends, and preferments in Europe, And truly the worſt I wiſh to you, or any Prelate in Britain, or Ireland, or their adherents is, that they may have as ſound a yokeing, with their Conſciences, as I have had, if they be not incorrigible Enemies of Chriſt. Next, upon ſerious ſearch of the Word of God, and of Antiquity, I am the more confirm'd in my Reſolution. Blondellus, Salmatius, Gerſon, Bucer, yea the whole current of Primitive Fathers, eſpecially Smeſtymnuus, have vindicated Presbytery againſt the whole World. I want not many more ſolid Reaſons to add, only I ſuppoſe I could never be ſatisfied in them, and therefore I forbear.

To conclude, I here before God, and the whole World profeſs my diſowning of Lordly Prelacy, as it is now Eſtabliſhed in our Land, which I was once moſt fully engaged into, and my firm and reſolute adherence to the Doctrine, Worſhip, diſcipline and Government of the Church of Scotland, as it was profeſſed in this Nation, from the year of our Lord 205. and downward for the ſpace of 230 years, and then ſince the year 1580. till the year 1610. and then from the year 1638. till the year 1651. and from thence downwards by many Godly in theſe three Lands, till this very day is; and more particularly to the point, that Government of Chriſts Church by an equality, and parity of Paſtors, and Miniſters, all of them with one ſhoulder carrying on

the work of the Lord, and exercising the Keys of Order, and Jurisdiction, Doctrine and Discipline in Communi, according to due Order, and feeding the flock of God, not as being Lords of Gods Heritage, but ensamples to the flock: yea, I do here (with all the Lords faithful Servants and Witnesses in these three Lands, both in the present, and some former Generations, and with all the Lords Witnessing, and Suffering Servants and people, that have been, or now are in this Land, or present Generation) confess and bear my witness, and Testimony, the cause of God, and work of Reformation so much as was attained thereof, how afflicted, and born down now soever, and to the confessions of Faith of the Church of Scotland, and of the three Kingdoms, and to the rational, and trinitational Covenant, and that I do rather choose to suffer affliction with the poor suffering people of God, then to enjoy the pleasures of Sin for a season, esteeming the reproaches for Christ greater riches than all the pleasures, and preferments in the World. I desire you with your Brethern to consider those Scriptures, and take them home to you: Isa: 66. 5. Zachary 11. 5. John 16. 2, 3. John 9. 1, 10. Remember your worthy Bedfellow, that is this day I hope in glory, shall bear Witness against you. Farewell for ever Lordly Prelacy, for I had never a joyful hour since I engaged therein; and welcome welcome my dear Lord Jesus Christ, I embrace thee with the arms of my Soul, and thy Cross. I profess this, confess thee bearing my Testimony to thee, and thy persecuted Truth, and by thy blood, and the word of thy Testimony, and not loving my life unto the death, I hope to overcome.

Cambre Ile August 6. 1677.

Sic subscribit, Alex. Symer Minister of the Gospel at Cambre,

Unless you are versed in our Historian *Buchanan*, you will wonder, why this Learned Antiquarian should assert, That the Government of our Church was *Presbyterian* from the first Plantation of the Gospel in 205. or rather 203. till the arrival of *Palladius* in the middle of the fifth Century. You must know therefore that all the Authority our *Presbyterians* have for this assertion is from *Buchanan*, that furious Enemy of Bishops, who in the Fifth Book of his History, writes that the Church in the afore said time was not governed by Bishops, but by the Monks or *Culdees*; which were it true, as it is false, would prove that the Government of the Church in that interval was not *Presbyterian*, but perfectly *Laical*, seeing it was long after that time that Monks were admitted among the Clergy; and permitted to meddle with Church Affairs. But you may find a larger confutation of this groundless assertion of *Buchanan* in Archbishop *Sportswoods* History, in the seven first Pages of the First Book.

But to continue my Narrative of Mr. *Mitchel*, I proceed to acquaint you with other memorable things, that happen'd between his Condemnation, and Execution, which was on Friday, the 18. of *January* last, in the *Grass-market*, about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Sometime before the Execution, the Reverend Mr. *Annand* Dean of *Edinburgh*, not discourag'd with the unthankful returns one of his Brethren had receiv'd from the Malefactor before, out of his tender compassion to his Soul, wrote him a very affectionate, and pious Letter, wherein he endeavour'd to shew him from the Gospel, how contrary his Principles and practices were to the Doctrine of Christianity, and exhorted him to Repentance for that Un-christian attempt, by which he designed to take away the Life of one Sacred Person, and grievously wounded another, &c. to all which he return'd this Answer,

SIR,

**I** Received yours, and since my time is very short, and so very pretious; I can only thank you for your Civility, and Affection, whether real or pretended; and I tell you, I truly close with all the precepts of the Gospel to Love, and Peace, and therefore pray I both for Mr. Sharp, and you. But knowing both Mr. Sharp's Wickedness, and my own sincerity, and the Lord's Holy Sovereignty to use his Creatures as he pleases, I can only refer the manifestation of my Fault to the day of God's Righteous and Universal Judgement, praying heartily, that God may have mercy on you, and open your eyes to see both the wickedness of all your ways, and of your Godless insulting over an unjustly condemn'd dying Man, and grant unto you repentance, and remission of your sins; I am in this your well-wisher,

James Mitchel.

The Dean in his Letter urged an excellent argument to convince him, that the impulse, which was upon him so many years to assassinate the Primate, could not come from God, like the Impulse of *Phineas*, & the *Zealots*, because he fail'd in the attempt; which never any person did or could do, that was moved by God to do an *Heroick* Act. But, you see, the blind *Pseudo-Zealot* takes no notice of this Argument in his answer: wherein to shew what an implacable enemy he was to the Office, as well as the person of the Archbishop, he mentions his Grace not by his Character, but by his Name.

Having been told in the Prison, that he would not be permitted to speak to the People before his Execution, he transcribed several Copies of his intended Speech; whereof one was found in his Pocket, and taken from him before he was carried out to Execution. It is long, and the for-



former part containing nothing but Libellous reflections on the Privy Council, the Justiciary Lords, and the King's Advocate, I shall content my self to send you a transcript of the latter.

**I** Acknowledge my particular and private sins have been such as have merited a worse Death unto me; but I dye in the hope of the merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from those Eternal punishments due to me for sin. Yet I am confident, that God doth not plead with me in this place, for my private and particular sins, but that I am brought here that the Work of God might be made manifest, and for the Tryal of Faith, John 9. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 7. and that I may be a witness for his despised Truth, and interest in this Land, who am called to seal the same with my Blood. And I wish heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this Kingdom, so much actuate by these perfidious Prelates; and in opposition to whom, and in testimony of the Cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my Life, and bless my God that he hath thought me so much worthy to do the same for his Glory, and Interest. Finally, concerning a Christian Duty in a singular extraordinary case, and my particular Judgement concerning both Church and State, it is evidently declar'd, and manifested more fully elsewhere. So farewell all Earthly enjoyments and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whose hands I commend my spirit.

As to that particular Christian duty in an extraordinary case, and his Judgement concerning Church and State manifested elsewhere, he means a larger blasphemous Libel, which he left behind him, wherein he indeavours to justify his Fact. It is very long, but yet I beseech you to read it over, and If you have not read *Naphthali*, nor *Jus Populi vindicatum*, which is a Reply to the Answer, which the Bishop of *Orkney*, whom this miscreant wounded, made to *Naphthali*; I am confident, you must be surpriz'd with horror, and astonishment, to see such Un-christian Doctrines come from a Christian Pen. Yet the Primitive Churches never received the Apostolick Epistles with greater veneration, than the Members of our Field-Congregations receive such discourses as this; nor can any Church-man respect any ancient Ecclesiastical Writer half so much as they adore *Naphthali*, which is written in the Defence of the Rebellion in 1666. and wherein this horrid mans attempt upon the Primate, is commended for an *Heroical Act*; and that cursed Book, with *Lex, Rex, Jus populi vindicatum* and Mr. *Rutherfords* Letters are the Fathers and Counsels of our *Fife*, and *Western Whigs*.

I have here subjoyned the Account of my self, princip'es and foresaid practises as they were set down in a Letter to a Friend, and another Declaration both written by me, when first Conveened before the Lords Justices, in the year, 1674.

The Coppy of my Letter, *Edinburgh Tolbuith,*  
*February the 16th, 1674.*

S I R,

**M**E ( *whom may justly call myself the least of all Saints, and the chiefest of all Sinners* ) hath Christ his Son our Lord called, to be a Witness for his destroyed truth and trampled on Interest, by this Wicked Blasphemous and God-contemning Generation, and against all their other Perfidious Wickednesses. Sir, I say the confidence I have in your real Friendship and love to Christ, his Truth, People, Interest and Cause, hath encouraged me, to write to you, hoping that you will not misconstrue, nor take advantage of my Infirmities and Weakness; you have heard of my Indictment, which I take up in these two particulars. First, ( as they term it ) Rebellion and Treason, anent which I answered to my Lord Chancellor, that it was no Rebellion, but a Duty whicheveryone was bound to have performed, in joyning with that party; And in the year 1656. Mr. Robert Lightonne, being the Primate of the Colledge of Edinburgh before our Laureation, tendered to us the national Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant, which upon mature Deliberation, I found nothing in them, but a short compend of the Moral Law only, obliging us to our Duty towards God and Men in their several Stations, and I finding that our then banished Kings Interest lay wholly included therein, viz. Both the Oath of Coronation, Allegiance, &c. And they being the then tessera of all Loyalty. And, My Lord, it was well known that then many were taking the Tender, and forswearing Charles Stewarts Parliament, and House of Lords, I then subscribed them both. The doing of which, My Lord Chancellor, would have stood me at no less rate, if alls well known, then this my present adhering and prosecuting the ends thereof doth now; And when I was questioned, what then I called Rebellion; I answered, That it is, Ezra. 7. 26. And whosoever will not do the Law of thy God, and of the King, &c. But being questioned by the Commissioner before the Council there anent; I answered, as I said to my Lord Chancellor before in the year 1656. Mr. Robert Lightonne being then Primate of the Colledge of Edinburgh, before our Laureation, he tendered to us the national Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant; where he stopped me, saying, I wade you are come here to give a Testimony; and then being demanded what I called Rebellion, if it was not Rebellion to oppose his Majesties Forces in the face,

to which I answered, My Lord Commissioner, if it please your Grace, I humbly conceive, that they should have been with us, meaning that it was the Duty of those Forces, to have joyned with us, according to the national Covenant ; at which answer I perceived him to storm. But says he, I hear that you have been over Seas, with whom did you converse there ? Answer, with my Merchant, My Lord. But saith he, with whom in particular ? with one John Mitchel, a Cousin of mine, saith he, I have heard tell of him, he is a Factor in Rotterdam, to which I conceded ; But saith he, did you not converse with Mr. Levingston ? and such as he ? To which I answered, My Lord Commissioner, I conversed with our banisht Ministers, to which he replied, banisht Ministers, banisht Traytors ; he will speak Treason at the very Bar. Then he answered himself, saying, but they would call the shooting at the Bishop an Heroick Act ; To which I answered, That I never told them of any such thing. Question, But, where did you see James Wallace last ? Answer, Towards the Borders of Germany some years ago. Quest. But what ailed you at my Lord St. Andrews here ? pointing at him with his finger. Answer. My Lord Commissioner, the grievous oppression and horrid Bloodshed of my Brethren, and the eager pursuit after my own Blood, as it appeareth this day to your Grace, and to all his Majesties Honourable Council ; after which he commanded to take me away, that they might see what next to do with me.

The second is, the shooting that shot, intended against the Bishop of St. Andrews, whereby the Bishop of Orkney was hurt ; to which I answered My Lord Chancellor in private, viz. That I looked upon him to be the main Instigator of all the Oppression and Bloodshed of my Brethren, that followed thereupon, and the continual pursuing after my own, and, My Lord Chancellor, as it was credibly reported to us (the truth of which your Lordship knows better than we) that he kepted up His Majesties Letter, inhibiting any more blood to be shed upon that account, untill the last Ten were Executed, and I being a Souldier, not having laid down Arms, but being still upon my own defence, and having no other quarrel nor aim at any man, but according to my own apprehension of him, and that as I hope in sincerity, without fixing either myself or any one upon the Covenant it self, and as it may be understood, by many thousand of the faithful ; besides the prosecuting of the ends of the same Covenant, which was and is in that part the overthrow of Prelates and Prelacy ; and I being a declared enemy to him upon that account, and he to me in like manner, so I never found myself obliged, either by the Law of God, or Nature, to set a Centry at his door, for his safety ; But as he was always ready to take his advantage of me, as it now appeareth, so I of him when



opportunity offered; Moreover, we being in no terms of Capitulation, but on the contrary, I by his Instigation being excluded from all Grace and Favour, thought it my duty to pursue him on all occasions. Also, My Lord, Sir William Sharp making his Apology, ament his unhandsome cheating way, when he took me under a pretext to have spoken with me, about some other matter, (I not knowing him untill Five or Six of his Brothers, and his own Servants were laying fast hold on me, they being armed of purpose) he desired that I would excuse him, seeing what he had done was upon his Brothers account; which excuse, My Lord, I easily admitted of, seeing that he thought himself obliged to do what he did without Law or Order, in the behalf of his Brother; much more was I obliged to do what I did, in behalf of many Brethern, whose Oppression was so great, and whose Blood he had caused shed in such abundance; Moreover, he insisting in his bloody Murthers, as witness the wounding of Mr. Bruce at his taking of his Emissaries, some few days before that fell out concerning himself; now if by any means in taking him away, I could have put a stop to the then current Persecution: Thus far I have truly resumed what past.

But this answer to the second part of the Indictment, may be thought by some to be a step out of the ordinary way, wherefore I shall offer these things following, to your Consideration, viz; That passage, Deut. 13. 9. Where to me it is manifest, That the Seducer or Inticer to Worship false Gods, is to be put to death by the hands of those whom he seeketh to turn away from the Lord, especially by the hand of the Witnesses, whereof I am one; as it appears, Deut. 13. 9. which precept I humbly conceive to be Moral, and not merely Judicial, and that it is not at all Ceremonial or Levitical, but as every Moral precept is Universal as to the extent of place, so also as to the extent of time and persons; upon which command, Sir, I do really think that Phinehas acted in taking away the Midianitish Whore, and him whom she had seduced, Numb. 25. 6. Also that Elijah by vertue of that precept, gave Commandment to the people to destroy Baals Priests, contrary to the mind of the seducing Magistrate, who was not only remiss and negligent in executing Justice, but became a Protector and Defender of the Seducers: then and in that Case, I suppose the Christians duty not to be very dark. Moreover, we see what the people of Israel did 2 Chron: 31. 1. They destroyed Idolatry, not only in Judah, where the King concurred, but in Ephraim and Manasseh where the King himself was an Idolater; and surely, what all the people were bound to do, as their duty by the Law of God, every one was bound to do it, to the uttermost of their power, and capacity. And as it is, Ezek. 13. 3. Where the Seducers Father and his Mother shall put him to death; I take

this to be meant of the Christian Magistrate. But when he is withdrawn by the Seducer from the exercise of his Office, and Duty, and he's become utterly remiss and negligent in putting the Seducer to death; according to Gods express Law; which is not to be expected of him ( for then he should do Justice upon himself ) but is become a Protector and Defender of the Idolater; then I doubt not, but it doth become the duty of every Christian, to the uttermost of his power and capacity, to destroy & cut off both Idolatry & Idolaters. That these presumtuously-murthering Prelates ought to be killed by the avenger of blood, when he meeteth them; by the express Law of God, seeing the thing is manifestly true, Num. 25. 21. and not have liberty to flee to such Cities of Refuge, as the vain pretext of lawful Authority. But they should be taken even from the Horns of such Altars, and be put to death. Moreover, what is spoken of concerning Amalek, upon the account, that he design'd and resolv'd the extirpation of the Lords people and truth, who are his Throne, upon which he puts forth his hand, and because he took occasion against them, Exod. 17. 15. Numb. 24. 20. He endeavouring that God should not have a people to have served him, according to his revealed will, upon the Earth; and if he could have effectuated his design, they should not have lived, who would not serve and worship him, and his Idol Gods; And for the better effectuating of this his design, he took occasion against them when they were weary, in coming out of Egypt, Deut. 25. 17. 18. And the reason there annexed is, That he feared not God. Now because I know Bishops both will and do say, That what they did against those of the Lords people, whom they murdered, they did by Law and Authority, but what I did, was contrary to both. Answer, The King himself, and all the Estates of the Land, and every individual person therein, both were, and are obliged, by the Oath of God upon them, to have by force of Arms extirpated perjured Prelates, and Prelacy, and in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes, the Covenants being engaged into, upon these terms, viz. After Supplications, Remonstrations, Protestations, and all other lawful means have been used, now for that effect, as the last remedy, we take up Arms, upon which conditions the Nobility, & all the representatives of the Nation, according to the national and Solemn League and Covenant, gave to our King both the Sword and Scepter, and set the Crown upon his head; and he accordingly received them, according to these Sacred Oaths and promises, and swore by the everliving God to use and improve them for the end aforesaid; and especially, in order to the performing of this Article, viz. The extirpation and overthrow of Prelates and Prelacy: and now the want of what Authority do they mean or speak of? truly I know not, except it be the Authority of their aggre-

aggregation of new Gods, of whom they have their gain, life and standing, viz. Chemosh or Bachus which with drunken Moab, delighted to dwell within dark Cells, and Ashteroth and Venus, whom they worship in the Female kind, because of their Adulteries and Whoredoms; as also Milchom or Molech, which signifies a Tyrannical King or a Devil, if they will have it so, in whose arms and power they put their young Infants and Posterity to be burnt and destroyed, according to his lust and pleasure, Amos 5. 26. Psal. 116. 37. and that Mammon, which they delight to worship daily together with their own bellies, whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things, whose end will be destruction, except they repent, which there is little probability of, Psal. 3. 19. to which if we may add their abominable Pride and Blaspheinous perjury, then their Gods will be equal in number to the Whore their Mother, from whom they have their being, strength & standing, and from the Devil their Father, who was a deceiver, liar, Murderer from the beginning; and now seeing the Prelates possess whatsoever their Gods Chemosh, &c. giveth them to possess, then why should not we possess what the Lord our God giveth us to possess, viz. His eternal Truths manifested to us, in his revealed Will, and keep and defend the same, from all innovations, Corruptions and Traditions of his or our Adversaries, defend our lives, Laws and Liberties out of the hands of our Usurping Enemies, Jud. 11. 24. for sure I am, that God once dispossess the Prelates and Malignants of all these, and should they again possess them, through our defect, God forbid. But the like of this work, our Murthering Prelates like not; who plead like the Whore their Mother for passive Obedience, and that all the Lords people, who may not comply with your Idolatries, should lay down their necks to their bloody Axes; with whom too, too many of our Hypocritical time-serving and perfidious professors do agree, who would rather abide with Ruben amongst the Sheepfolds than Jeopard either life or fortune in the help of the Lord against the Mighty; but do not consider the bitter curse pronounced by the Angel of the Lord against Meros, to which he immediately subjoins a blessing upon Jael the Wife of Hebar the Kenite: others excuse themselves thus, viz. Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, but so the Throne and Judgement is the Lords, and by this they would take away the use and office of Magistracy, which erroneous principle I detest; for God even in the working of Miracles, viz. in dividing the Red Sea, Exod. 14. 16. he commanded Moses to stretch forth his Rod, and Christ when he opened the blind Man's eyes, maketh use of Clay and of Spittle; though indeed, I mean not of any who were willing to have helped, but wanted opportunity, yet there are many peevish time-serving Professors, who resolve they shall never suffer so long as they have either Soul

or Conscience, to mortgage; providing that they may save them from suffering: and if it will not do their business, it seemeth (that before they suffer) they resolve to sell out at the ground. Now, Sir, I have neither misinterpreted Scripture, nor mis-applied it, in regard of the Persons here hinted at, nor been wrong in the end, which ought to be the glory of God, and the good of his Church and People. Then I think that some Persons might forbear to scourge me so sore with their Tongues, while I am not yet condemned by the common enemy, and my bearing of some things reported by some behind my back, hath occasioned my writing to you at this time. O Sir! be entreated to pray to the Lord in my behalf, that he would be pleased out of his Mercy and Goodness, to save me from sinning under suffering, in this hour and power of darkness; for my Soul is prest in me, in the search betwixt sin and duty, viz. least I should be too niggard and sparing of life, when God calleth for it; and upon the other hand, least I should be too Prodigal and lavish of it, in not using all legal defences, in preserving of it; and many things of the like Nature. I am in a strait, O Lord, undertake thou for me. Sir I hope you will excuse me, in sending you these indistinct and irregular lines, when you consider my present condition; Sir, believe, I would many times, when I am before them, think a Scaffold a sweet retirement, least they should cheat and deceive me; in making me, either to stain the declarative Glory of God, my own Conscience or his People and interest, in wronging of them, either by opening of the Adversaries mouths against them, or in letting loose their hand upon them; henceforth let the Adversary either say or do what they can, yet the Righteous will hold on their way, and he who hath clean hands will be stronger and stronger, *Job. 17. 9.* But he that saith unto the Wicked, Thou art Righteous, him shall the People curse, Nations shall abhor him, *Prov. 24. 24.* Farewell in the Lord.

## POST-SCRIPT:

**I**T is acknowledged by all rational Royalists, that it is lawful for any private Person to kill an Usurper, or Tyrant, *sine titulo*; and to kill Irish Robbers, and Tories, or the like; and to kill Boars, Wolves, and such devouring Beasts; because the good of this action doth not redound to the Person himself only, but to the whole Common-wealth; and the person acting incurs the danger himself alone: The Second Part of the *Cloud of witnesses*, pag. 60. Mr. *Knox* has these express words; For God, faith

saith he, *hath not only given me Knowledge, and a Tongue, to make known the Impiety of the Idol, but had given me credit with many who would have put in execution God's Judgements, if I would only have consented thereto.* But so careful was I of common Tranquility, & so loth was I to offend some, that in secret conference with zealous Men, I travelled rather to slacken that fervency, God hath kindled in them, than to animate or encourage them, to put their hands to the Lord's Work, wherein I acknowledge my self to have done most wickedly; and from the bottom of my heart I do ask my God pardon, that I did not what in me lay, to have suppressed that Idol in the beginning. But O! how far are the men in our time from such convictions! whose work it is to put out any spark of Life or Zeal, which appeareth in any person, against Idolatry and Idol of our times. Now let men, whether foes, or Friends, carp or quarrel never so much, yet the purpose and determination of God will not be disappointed, in living witnesses against this mis-believing generation, viz. that he is both also powerful, and willing, to deliver one, or more of his people trusting in him, yea, and that *there is no restraint unto the Lord, to save by many, or by few, 1 Sam. 14. 6.* If any be obedient to the voice of his Commandments, although success doth not always follow thereupon, more than it did to Israel, *Jos. 7. 12.* against the City of *Ai*, because there was an *Achan* in the Camp, and alas there are many *Achans* in the Camp of our Israel, which cause the Lord's People to fall daily before their enemies; and which makes all their endeavours unsuccessful: I mean, the hidden time-serving Hypocrites and Murmurers, who have preferred their backs and bellies, to the Interest of God, and their hearts still desirous to return to *Egypt*: I say until such Rebels be purged and dye, we can have little expectation to prosper, in any enterprize or undertaking; for they have both betrayed and mis-believed God, notwithstanding of all his Miracles which he did of old, and which he has done in our days, for his people, and before their eyes; yet they are so far gone back in a course of Apostacy and compliance with the *Canaanites* of our times, and are become so brutishly ignorant, of the express Law of God, and are such enemies thereto, that they do rather concur with the said *Canaanites*, *Judg. 6. 25*, to have *Gideon* put to death for performing his duty, conform to the express command of God, than either to study thereof themselves or give obedience thereto. But if it be objected, that *Gideon* had an express command from God, for throwing down of *Baal's* Altar, and for cutting down of the Grove, and destroying of the *Midianites*. Answer, Indeed



he had an exprefs command of God for his encouragement, but he had no new command from God, fave that which was exprefly enjoyned upon all the *Ifraelites*, by vertue of which every one was obliged to have done what he did, without any fuch meffage from God, *Deut.* 7. 2, 3, 15. and who are readier with *Judas* (before they incurr danger or lofs) to fend three thousand Men to bring *Sampfon* bound to the *Philiftines*, than to have fend him ten of his affiftance againft the common enemy; concerning the truth of which we have gotten many fad experiments. But however I hope, that what hath been faid, fhall occafion a further cognition of, and a more ferious fearch into thefe forementioned truths, than hath been for a long time by-paft.

That, albeit I have here fingly declared my own motives and reafons, for that attempt, and fhooting; wherein, I then had, and now have peace, and hope to find acceptance of God, according to the multitude of his Mercies, to fuch as feek and fear him in fincerity; yet, I will not take on me abfolutely, and in every refpect, to juftifie or affert, that it is my own deliberate and fixed principle; let be that it is juftified by, and is the principle of the *Non-conforming Presbyterian Party* of the Church of *Scotland*, of which I have the honour and happinefs to be one, the unworthieft of many: Nay, if I fhould fay fo of them, I would be found a Lyar againft the Truth, for I adventured on it, upon my own pure, and proper motion, without the infligation of any, yea without the privacy of that party; whom therefore I earneftly defire, that none may charge with, and if any fhall, I do with the greateft confidence aver, that they deal with them moft unjuftly; I have, I fay again, in the fimplicity of my heart, with candour and ingenuity, becoming a dying Man, and a Chriftian, believing that he muft be made manifef before the Tribunal of Chrift, and there receive according to the things done in the body, whether they be good or evil, given an account of the reafons and motives, pouffing and preffing me on to it; wherein I had quietnefs of mind in the time, and have ftill to this prefent houre; hoping that as he is Sovereign Lord over all Creatures, and may ufe any of them as Instruments to whatfoever his Pleafure is; and that, as I fay, I did take and do ftill look upon the motion, as from himfelf; fo he will accept of my fincerity in it, and one day, both bring forth his own and my Righteoufnefs as the Light.

**I** Suppose, some will be desirous to know what hath brought me to this place of suffering; to which I have no other Answer than that which Elijah gave, when threatened with death by Jezebel, 1 Kings 19. 14. I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because the Children of Israel have forsaken thy Covenant, thrown down thine Altars, and true Worship, and slain his Prophets, and Ministers: And they seek my Life to take it away.

With all my Heart and Soul, I own and adhere to the work of Reformation, as it was begun and Carried on in this Kingdom, according to the Word of God, and the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; as it was settled amongst us in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, by general Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, Kirk-Sessions, & the Peoples Just Power to choose and call their own lawful Pastors; and I do declare, that I judge Patronage to be a Popish Right, and an usurpation in the House of God.

I do believe, and am perswaded, that Magistracy is an Ordinance appointed of God, as well under the New Testament as it was under the Old; and that whosoever resisteth the lawful Magistrate in the exercise of his lawful Power, resisteth the Ordinance and appointment of God, Rom. 13. 3. For he is God's Minister to you for thy good, and in doing good thou needs not be afraid of him, 1. Pet. 2. 12. We must obey the lawful Magistrate for Conscience sake, Deut. 17. 15, 16, 17. The lawful Magistrate must be a Man qualified according to God's appointment, and not according to the peoples lust and pleasure, least in the end he should prove to them a Prince of Sodom, and a Governour of Gomorra, whom God in his Righteousness should appoint for their Judgment, and establish for their correction; he must be one of thy Brethren, and not the Face of a Stranger; he must not make himself strong by multiplying of Horses, to the end he may compel the Lord's People to rebel against the Lord's express command; Nor Jeroboam like, compel the people to any course of Apostacy; he must not multiply Wives to himself, and much less, whores, nor Marry an Idolatrous Wife like Jezabel, 1. Kings 16. 31. Nor be covetous, in multiplying to himself Silver or Gold; he must be a diligent Student of the Law of the Lord, all the days of his Life, that he turn neither to the Right hand, nor to the Left Hand therefrom, but must judge the People accordingly; otherways neither he, nor his Children can expect to prolong their days, 2 Sam. 23. 3. He must not be a Son of Belial without or above order, and Law, whom a man cannot touch except he be fenced with Iron, for such shall all be prest away; For (said David) he that ruleth over Men must be just, ruling in the Fear of the Lord, &c. But if a man

*simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter; when he hath strengthened himself upon the Throne, shall abjure and sacrifice his Oath and Covenant, both to God and his Subjects, and shall transgress the Law and Commandment of the Lord, (who hath given the Magistrate only one accumulative Power, to promote, protest, and defend God's Laws, Truth and People, from being corrupted, violated, or any ways damnified; and for that end he hath received both his place and his power from God, and Men, for he hath not received of the Lord an obstructive, destructive, or private power; for (as has been said) the people can give no right nor power to any man, but what is according to God's appointment, least they should incurr the sad Challenge from God, Hosea 8. 4. They have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, but I knew it not For in ch. 10. v. 3. Israel there is brought into confessing their fault, and they denyed they had a King, because he was not such as God had appointed, and said, what should a King do to them, seeing he had partly by force, and partly by fraud, withdrawn them from the fear and obedience which they ought to God, and to his Law, and had seduced and compelled them to Idolatry, and worshipping of false gods: and if the Magistrate being in Power, shall overturne the Covenant-work of God, his Truth and Interests, the fundamental & municipal Laws of the Land, and moreover by a settled Parliament, according to his own mind, and for his own use and ends, they as the peoples representatives, do by Acts Rescissory rescind all Acts of laudable lawfull Parliaments, Committee of States, or Councils, wherein were contained or comprehended any mutual Bond, Obligation, Covenant, or contract betwixt the Prince or People, he having divested himself of any legal Right he could have or pretend over such a People, and they being in Statu quo prius, and none having Right to rule over them without their own consent; if the aforesaid Magistrate shall then again Usurp and Invade his peoples lives, Religions, liberties & Laws, & make even simple supPLICating of him crimes of Treason, contrary to the dictates of Nature, and he by armed emissaries, and by his Arbitrary power carried on by the Sword in their hands, compel the Lord's People to relinquish, and to forsake the true Religion and worship of God, and make a surrender of both their Soul, Conscience, Lives, Laws, Liberties, and embrace a false Religion, and Will-worship, and engage to serve and worship false and Idol Gods at his pleasure: for thus all that is dear and near to a people being in the extremity of hazard; now it necessarily followed to be the duty of such people, or any part of them, to take up Arms in defence of their Lives, Laws, Religion, and Liberties, and of their Posterity, that they may not be left in such an intollerable bondage and as they would not be*



accounted guilty of bringing God's Wrath upon the whole Land, Jer. 22, 2, 3, Here the word of the Lord, O King of Judah, &c. Thou and thy Servants, and the People that enter in by these Gates, execute Judgment and Righteousness, and deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, Chap. 37. 2. But neither he, nor the Servants, nor the People of the Land hearkned to the Prophet Jeremiah untill Wrath from the Lord consumed them all; Now had it not been the Peoples duty, to have executed Judgement and Righteousness, and to have delivered the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor; Zedekiah and his Servants (which I think was meant by the Nobility and Princes) proving deficient, in order to the performing of their duty, it necessarily followeth to be the peoples duty for if it had not been their duty it had not been their sin to have omitted it; But here we see it is as well charged home, to be the peoples sin, as to be the sin of the King, or the sin of his Nobles; But, say some, who shall be Judge in such cases; to which I answer, that the Law of God is the only Supreme and Infallible Judge, in all such cases; for what other Judge is, when two Kings or Monarchs falleth out in War, neither of them being Subject to any other Judge; but some prophane and brutishly Ignorant malignant saith, that this or that ignorant fellow, or hussy, take upon them to determine what the Law of God saith in such cases: I answer, neither this, nor that ignorant fellow, or hussy, nor yet this, or that Ignorant, Prophane, Wicked or Perfidious Prince or Princess, is capable to be Judge, Deut. 30. 11, For this Commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee neither is it far off v. 2. it is not in Heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to Heaven and bring it to us, that we may here it and do it, &c. neither is it beyond the Sea, &c. but the word is very near unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy Heart that thou may'st do it; And in this cause I do appeal to any Man of a sober Wit and Judgment; seeing the Secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him, Psal. 25. 14. And seeing evil Men understand not Judgement, but they that seek the Lord understand all things, Prov. 28. 5. For they know not how to do Right, who store up the Robbery in their Palaces, Amos 3. 10. who is most capable to judge, what the Law of God determineth, in all such matter; Artaxerxes a great Monarch commanded, that whatsoever is commanded of the God of Heaven, that it should be diligently done, for the house of the God of Heaven, for why should there be Wrath upon the King and his Sons, Ezra 7. 23. But O how many Men at this time of the Scrs of Belial, contrary to what is here spoken of, screw up those who are above them to so high a Principle, and as illimitated and Arbitrary Power, far above what either the Law of God, or the Law of Nature will admit of for this very end

and purpose, that they may glory in the works of their own hands, and that he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they have made a surrender of both Credit, Conscience, and common Honesty, may return unto them a power over others; who are under them, by putting Swords in the hands of bloody Cut-throats; who are raised and kept up for that effect, to keep and bring into an Egyptian Bondage, the Persons, Lives, Laws, Liberties, yea even the Souls and Consciences of the Lord's People; The which Power, I declare, to be diabolical, prophane, and blasphemous, and Pharoah-like to say, Who is the Lord that they should obey him, Exod. 5. 2. Now seeing both the Throne and the Judgment is the Lords, then O blessed and happy Magistrate, who ruleth and governeth his Subjects, keeping in a streight Line of subordination to God's Law, and Statutes, for in so doing, who may say to him what dost thou? Prov. and O happy and blessed people thus Governed, Deut. 4. 8. And what Nation is there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so Righteous, as all this Law which I set before you this day. But O the Blasphemous perjuries, and Wickedness of this Apostate Generation, whom no Bands, Obligations, nor Covenants can bind, except these spoken in the 149. Psal. 8. But shall they thus break the Covenant, and escape and be delivered. Ezek. 17. 15, 18. As if the Lords hand and power could not reach them, to inflict just and due punishment upon them which commit such things. I do detest and abhor that woful Indulgence and Incroachment, and Usurpation on the Crown and Prerogatives Royal of our Lord Jesus Christ (at least in the givers thereof) howbeit, I have very much love, Charity and Affection to many who have embraced the same, for I do really think, that they have been out-witted in that matter, and have not wickedly departed from following the Lord; yet I hope they shall get their Souls for a prey in the day of the Lord, although they may suffer loss, in building such Hay and Stubble upon the Rock Christ Jesus, when that their work shall be burnt up by the fire of his Jealousie.

I protest before God, Angels, and men, against all these Acts of Parliament or Council; which are against and derogative to the work of God, and Reformation, and carrying on of the same, according as we are engaged and sworn in these holy bands of the Nationall Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant; I abhor the shedding of the blood of the Lords people, for their adhearing to the same, and the peoples guarding such in Prison houses and at Scaffolds unto their death; whom both by the Oath of God upon them, and by the eminent and laudable Laws of the Land, and by the Law of Nature they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes; It being most well known, that such as were put to death,

had

had committed no Crime, but on the contrary had performed a Duty, which they were as much obliged to have performed as these, if the guarders had been as faithful to God and man as the Pannels were.

Likewise I protest against their Banishment, Imprisonment, or Finings, or Confinements, and against all the hardships and perplexities of whatsoever kind, which they have been put to, through the Iniquity of the times; So that we may justly with our predecessors say, That our Persecutors have devoured us, and have Crushed us, have emptied us, swallowed us up like a Dragon, and have filled their bellies with our Delicates, and have cast us out, 5 Jer. 34. For which cause, God gave a charge to prepare Instruments for the overthrow and destruction of such persecutors, v. the 12. Because it was the Vengeance of the Lord and of his Temple, so shall our Remnant who outlive these Persecutors, say v. 35. The violence done to me and my flesh, be upon Babylon, and my blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea; let wrath from the Lord pursue them, for their blood and violence in their persons and Estates, and their strength, wherein they confide, and in their friends and favourites, who have consulted and contrived within their wicked Courses. I hope the time is drawing nigh, and that the joynts of their Loyns is loosing, their knees are beginning to smite one against another, Dan. 5. 6. and the hand-writing begins to be pourtrayed upon the wall, because they have not considered what God did to their Predecessors, for their Idolatrous Pride and Wickedness; although they knew it, yet they are become more insolent in Idolatry and Wickedness, and daring against God than ever their Forefathers presumed to be, in meddling with the Vessels and Materials of Gods house, and with the Crown and Kingly Office of Christ Jesus, and have appropriate them to their own Idolatrous ends and uses, 21. 22. Therefore, when the forbished Sword of the Lords Indignation and Justice breaketh forth to devour, which it may do, before the dark night of these dreadfull Dispensations pass over, then shall the time-serving Hypocrites of this Generation begin to their untimely Prayers, viz. Hills and Mountains fall upon them, to hide them from the face of the Righteous Judge, for who may alide the day of his coming; for Executing of Vengeance on his Adversaries. In that day the man shall be accused who keepeth back his Sword from blood, and who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, Jer. 48. 10. Yea happy shall he be that taketh this cursed Malignant, and prelati cal brood, and dasheth them against the stones; yea happy shall he be that rewarded them as they have served us, Psal. 137. For this honour have all his Saints, the high Praises of God in their mouth, and a  
two

*two edged Sword in their hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, Ps. 149.*

*Having thus delivered my self in the points that I have mentioned, I only add to what I have said, that I do only own these things as my own Judgment in these great and Important matters, not willing that any thing wherein others may differ from me, should be looked upon as the principles and perswasion of that party whereto I adhere; And I obtest that no man be so Diabolik and Prophane, as to charge this upon any of my perswasion, it being but my own, in which I hope, God hath approven me, and whom God Justifieth, who dare Condemn?*

*Now, if the Lord, in his wise and over-ruling Providence, bring me to the end of my Pilgrimage, and to my long looked for and desired Happiness; let him take his own way and time, in bringing me to it: And in the mean while, O my Soul, sing thou this Song, Spring up O Well of this Happiness and Salvation, of all this eternal Hope and Consolation, and whilst thou art burthened with this clog of a Clay Tabernacle, dig thou deep in it, by Faith, Patience, hope and Charity, and withal the Instruments which God hath given thee; dig in it both by precepts and promises, dig carefully, and dig continually, ay and till thou come to the Source and head of the Fountain himself, from whence the waters of life flow forth; dig until thou come to the Assembly of the first born, when this Song is most suitably sung to the Praise and Glory of the Rich Mercy and free Grace of this fountain of Life; O my Soul follow ( in all this digging ) the Directions of the great Law-giver; so shalt thou prosper in all thy taking of pains; O happy Nobles and Princes of Israel, who were admitted to the sight and to the Song, to the pains and to the profit, which none of the mixed multitude of Murmurers were admitted to, because of their unbelief, Numb. 21. 17. And O Father of Mercy, while I am tossed upon the turbulent Seas of manifold troubles, grant that thy presence may be with me, and that thy everlasting arms may be underneath me, to support me, for sure I am, Moses thy Servant had good reason to be importunate in this suit, Exod. 32. 2. compared with 14. and 15. v. Chap. 34. 9. Seeing no less could furnish him with fresh supplies in the work he was about. O let thy presence be with me, and then my Soul shall dig, & sing, and sing and dig through times of trouble into Eternal Rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the Rock Christ, out of whom floweth the pure Fountain and River of Life and Happiness, which I may drink and not be damned through the assaults of Satan, or the invasions of sin, or of a wicked world any more; now according to thy promise, Mat. 10. 19. Out of thy Fatherly Mercy, grant present help, supply and direction in this time of trouble, seeing it is not in man that walketh, to direct his own steps, Jer. 10.*

23. and though it be a hard thing rightly to distinguish betwixt Sin and Duty; yet thy Law, thy Word and thy Truth which are quick and powerful, dividing asunder of Soul and is a director of the thoughts, and thy Law giveth light, Psal. 119. 105. Psal. 32. 8. For thy Testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making wise the simple, Psal. 19. 7. For thou alone canst make all thy dispensation prove profitable in order to the purging away of sin even when they seem to be destructive, Esa. 27. 9. especially, when thou intends them not for destruction, but for tryal, Deut. 8. 2, 16. and for further Humiliation, for thou, O Lord, hast led me for many years. through a barren and wearisome Wilderness; to the end, that thou mayest work thy work of Mortification in me, although, if it had seemed good unto thee, thou couldst have brought me into the Land of Promise and Rest a nearer way, Exod. 13. 17. For thou by hardships, many a time hides Pride from men, and sealest up their instruction, that thou mayst deliver his Soul from the Pit, and that life may see the light, Job. 33. 17. And although thou, O Lord, shouldst send me the back tract, and tenor of my Life, to seek my Souls comforts, and encouragements from thence; yet I have no cause to complain of hard dealing from thy hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy people, Psal. 42. 6. O God, my Soul is cast down within me, therefore will I remember thee from the Land of Jordan, and from the Hill Hermon, &c. Tea the last time he brought me to the Banqueting-house, and made love his Banner over me (amongst the cold High-land Hills beside Kipper, Nov. 1673.) he remembered his former kindneses towards me; but withal he spoke it in mine Ear, that there was a tempestuous storm to meet me in the Face, which I behooved to go through with the strength of that Provision, 1. Kings 19. 7 And now, O my Soul, seeing it is his ordinary way and method with thee, to send a shower, and a sunblink, and again a sunblink and shower, therefore, keep thou silent to God, and murmur not, fret not, be not, disquieted, be still, and be content, seeing all my persecutors can do either by fraud, or force, can neither alter the Nature or kind of my sufferings, or add so much as a degree thereto, neither lengthen out the time of them for a moment, Matthew 10. 29. Exodus 12, 41. All Pharaohs Power could not keep Israel one Night longer in Egypt, therefore it is my duty to study with Paul, Philippians 4. 11, 12. Whatsoever State I am in, therewith to be content; and say, Should the Earth be forsaken, and the Rock be removed out of its place for me? Job. 18. 4. Should God alter the course of his providence for me, in which there is such an efficacy as to carry all things to the proper and appointed end: what an irresistible power? and that I may be found in him, not as having my own Righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ



Christ, the Righteousnes which is of God by Faith, *Phil. 3. 9. 10. and to resign up unto God my will and affections, to be disposed as he pleaseth, and to say with fear, humility, and reverence, O Father, not my will, but thine be done; and whether I live or dye, I may be the Lords, that through his Mercy and Grace, I may attain to his approbation; viz. Well done good and faithful Servant, who hath hitherto sent his Angel, and shut the Lyons Mouth that they have not hurt me, Dan. 6. 22. and who hath so shut the eyes of my persecutors with a Sodomitish blindness, that hitherto they could not find out the way, how to break in upon me; and I hope, he will in due time bring me out of the fiery Furnace, and shall not through his Grace, suffer the smell thereof to be found upon me; and if not, yet I never held it to be my duty, to worship this rotten and stinking Idol of Jealousie, which these Nations have set up, who have killed both the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, Thes. 1. 15. For thou, O Lord, hast not abhorred nor despised my afflictions, when I was afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy Face from me, but when I cryed unto thee thou heardest me; Ps. 22. 24. Now, O Lord God, thou hast made the Heaven, and the Earth by thy great Power, and stretched out Arm, Jer. 32. 17. Bring thou me at length to a happy arrival within the Gates of the New Jerusalem, where no unclean thing can come; that my praise may be of thee in the great congregation. And although as Job. saith 10. 17. That thou, O Lord, hast delivered me to the ungodly, and hast turned me over into the hands of the wicked yet by this, I know, that thou, O Lord favourest me, because mine Enemies do not triumph over me; when I stand in Judgement, thou O Lord didst not condemn; and if it pleaseth thee thou will not leave me in their hands, Ps. 41. 11. Ps. 37. 33. But canst bring up my Life from the Pit of Corruption, Jonah 2. 6. And seeing I have not preferred, nor sought after mine own things, but thy Honour and Glory, the Good Liberty, and Safety of thy Church and people, although I may be now mis-constructed by many; yet at length, I hope, thou Lord, will make my Light break forth as the Morning, and my Righteousness as the Noone-day, and that Shame and Darknes shall cover all who are Adversaries to my Righteous cause; For thou Lord art the Shield of my help, and the Sword of my excellency, and my Enemies shall be found Lyars, Amen, yea and Amen.*

James Mitchel.

**I**N some parts of this Villainous Paper you find the Author discoursing like a Jesuite, in some like an Enthusiast, and in many places like both. And from the beginning to the end of it he argues from the supposed validity of the judicial Law, which God gave the *Israelites*, not as their God, but

but as their Political Sovereign, and which they on the other hand received from his infinite Majesty, not on a Moral Account, as his rational Creatures, or the Sons of *Adam* or *Noah*; but upon the account of the civil Relation they had to him as Subjects, or his people in Political sense. For the *Jewish* Government, as all their Writers agree, was a Theocratical constitution, or the Temporal Kingdom of God; who was pleased to become *Jehovah-Sator*, and dwell among them in a visible external manner: in so much that the Judges, and Kings, were but his High-commissioners, and Vice-roys, who were chosen, and deposed by him at his pleasure, and like *Moses*, and *Joshua* his first two Generals could neither make War, nor Peace, nor undertake any State-matter of great moment, without first asking Counsel of the Lord.

Sometimes he answered them by Messengers, or Prophets; sometimes by Dreams and Visions, but most commonly in the time betwixt *Moses*, and the Captivity, by *Urim* and *Thummim*, which was a Political Oracle, appointed on purpose for the Judges, Kings, or Generals, or the whole Congregation to consult in matters of State and War. But our Saviour, who came to break down the wall of partition betwixt the *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, threw his Fathers inclosure into the Common again, and put an end to his Political Government over the *Jews*. Who had they embraced Christianity, and continued in their Country, as one entire people to this day, would not have been obliged by their specifick Judgments and Statutes, wherein their Civil, Criminal, and Military Laws consist. No, the whole design of the Gospel is so inconsistent with the *Jewish* Oeconomy, that it is impossible for Christians to observe some, ridiculous to observe others, and impious again to observe others of their judicial Laws. Of the last sort are all those which God gave the *Jews*; as *Carnifices Gentium*, or Executioners of his Wrath upon the Seven Idolatrous incorrigible Nations, as likewise all those Capital Acts against *Idolatrie*, as High Treason to his Government, and inconsistent with the Design he had to be King, as well as God of the *Jews*, whom he set up as a light among the *Gentiles*, and secured them by those great severities from falling into *Demonolatrie*, which was the Catholique Religion of the World.

This was the genera Opinion of all Christians, till the Romans began to argue by false Analogy from things and persons in the *Jewish*, to things and persons under the Christian Dispensation, and from them it was, that the Presbyterians first of all the learned to defend Murders, Assassinations, Rebellions and Massacres, as you see this Villian hath done.

Pope *Adrian* the *Sixth* moved the Princes of *Germanie* to cut off *Luther*, and the *Lutherans*, because ( forsooth ) God cast *Corah* and his Company down into Hell, and commanded, that all those should be put to death that would not obey the High Priest. And as *Davila* relates in the Ninth book of his History, the Pope compared the Duke of *Guise*, that Patron of the cursed League, to *Judas Maccabeus*, and the *Jesuits* complemented him with the name of *Gideon*, and bid him go on, and prosper in the name of God. According to which damnable notion of false Zealotry, when they Consecrate an Assassin ( as *Hospinian* hath proved they sometimes do ) to Murder an Heretick Prince, they Solemnly Consecrate him to the work of the Lord in such a like form as this. *Then Elest Son of God, take here the Sword of Gideon, the Sword of Jephtha, the Sword of Sampson, the Sword of David, the Sword of the Maccabees, go, and be of good Courage, and the Lord strengthen thy Arm.* Can any thing be more like Mr. *Mitchels* Justification than this? would not one think his Soul had entred into that secret of the *Jesuits*, seeing he hath not Acted only like one of their Assassins, but written his Apology with their poysoned Ink. If Father *Brown* the *Jesuite*, that Preach'd among them so many years, had penn'd it, could it have favoured stronger of the Society of Jesus, or become such an Author better than it doth? He boasted on his Death-bed at *Ingestonbrigg*, that he had Preached as down right Popery in our Field-coneynticle, as ever he had Preached in *Rome* it self; and had he been the Author of this Paper, he might have also boasted, to the comfort of his departing Soul, that he had written as true a Papiistical Pamphlet, as ever was written in the *Romish* Church. I think there is great presumption to assert, that the *Father* might help to indoctrinate *Mitchel* in this Mystery of Iniquity; but if he did not, yet both he and the Author of *Naphthali* might invent these Doctrines without consulting *Jesuites*, seeing it is the *Cabala* of their own Sect.

For this way of arguing to do mischief from the judicial Law, was the Logick of our most Primitive Presbyterians, which hath ever since caused so much ruine and blood.

For in the Convention at *Edinburgh Jan. 1560.* for Ratification of a new form of Church-Policy, it was Enacted, that all Monuments and Places of Idolatry, by name Chappels, Cathedral Churches, and Colledges, should be suppressed; whereupon through the instigation of *John Knox* ensued (saith my c Author) a pitifull Vastation of Churches, and Church-buildings, so that the Libraries nor Church-registers, nor Sepulchers of the dead were spared. And some ill advised Preachers (saith he) did animate



the People in their Barbarous proceedings, crying out, that places, where Idols had been worshipped, ought by the Law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable; as if (he subjoyns) the commandment given to *Israel* for destroying the places where the *Canaanites* did worship their false Gods, had been a Warrant for them to do the same. I confess the

Can. 62.  
*Council of Carthage* in the time of *Honorius* decreed, that the Emperors should be Petitioned to raze the Temples, and destroy the Reliques of Heathen Idols; but it was because in Maritime, and other places of *Afrique*, Idolatry was yet professed in them, and not from any sense of Duty incumbent upon them from the *Mosaic* Law. For that as well as the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches had converted the Temples of Idols into the Churches of Christ; but as for the supernumerary useless company of them, which remain'd as Snares, and Monuments of the Dominion which the Devil had had in the World; they thought it both for the honour and interest of Christianity; that they should be taken away.

In the following year, 1561. although *Queen Mary* had agreed with the Council, That she should have her own Service in Her own *d Spotsw. &c. L. 4.* Chappel, yet the next day, when the *d Tapers* were An, 1561. carried through the Court, a Zealot of Mr. *Mitchcel's* Principles fell upon him that bore them, and broak them all to pieces, and had not the Tumult been timely suppressed by some moderate Spirits abominable Barbarities had ensued; for some maintain'd, that if right were done, Her Majesties Priests should have been slain, according to Gods Law against Idolators. It would be endless to trace these Principles down from the time of the Original Presbyterians to these unhappy days; you may see enough of them in the Parliament Sermons, and innumerable other Pamphlets of the late times. How often did the late Presbyterian Preachers Commend the House of Commons for their Zeal, and ransack the Old Testament for examples and precepts to perswade the giddy Vulgar, that the Rebels fought the Lords Battels, and that their cause was his? How often did they compare the most active of them to *Gideon*, *Samson*, and *Phineas*, and complement the worthies of the late long Parliament in *England*, as *Gregory* the 15th. Complemented the last King of *France*, when he raised an Army for the Extirpation of the Protestants, in the Glorious name of the Lord of Hosts. Did not that darling of the Faction, Mr. *Calamy*, in the bloody Speech which he made in 43. at the *Guildhall* of *London* to the Citizens, (to perswade them to contribute largely towards the bringing in of our *Scot-*

*tish Army*) justifie himself from the objections of his own tender Conscience, that he being a Minister of the Gospel should Stir them up to make War; by taking an Apology from *Numb. 10.* and *Deut. 20.* where God ordained, that the Sons of *Aaron* the Priests should sound the Alarm with the Silver Trumpets, and that the Priest should make a Speech to encourage the people going out to Battel to fight for the Lord of Hosts. So that *Naphthali*, *Nehushtan*, and *Mitchels* Papers are but the last improvement of the Presbyterian Logick and Zeal, which makes our Conventicle-Preachers ride about with Guards, like petty Princes, and their followers, more like Soldiers than Christians, come Armed by Thousands into the *Field*.

They are now arriv'd at the highest pitch of Enthusiasm and Bigotry, and are as ready upon all occasions, to do as much for the Spiritual Crown of Christ, which they think inconsistent with the Mitre; as the Men of the *Fifth Monarchy* principles; are ready to do for the Temporal Kingdom of Jesus. So that if God in his good Providence had not sent down the Duke of *Lauderdale* among us to prevent the storms that were ready to arise; in all human probability, this Kingdom had been involved in such a violent Rebellion, as could not have been quell'd without extrinsecal force. His Grace came hither without any prospect of trouble; and the incredible numbers of Nobility, and Gentrey, that throng'd to meet him several days Journey on English ground, were enough to make him presume that all would be quiet and serene. But he had not been many days among us, when he was surpriz'd with the news of great insolencies, and disorders caus'd by the Field-Conventicles in the *West*.

Now to make you understand what Wind blew up that secret flame, and how those evil principles probably came to be put into fermentation, I must lead you back to the year 1674. when some, whose discontents far exceeded their causes, under the o'd pretence of redressing grievances, did design something else, and thereby almost render'd the Parliament use'less for the publick ends, for which it was call'd.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* was then His Majesties High Commissioner, & there was not one real grievance, of which he himself did not propose the removal; nor any one pretended, concerning which he was not willing to treat: and if it were found to be really such, to have it redress'd in an orderly, fair, and legal manner, according to the fundamental constitutions of the House. But this would not satisfy their discontents (which enough demonstrates, that something else was designed besides the

the removal of Grievances ) whereupon his *Grace* returning to Court to give an account of affairs to his Royal Master, such great confusions appeared among us, as naturally follow palliated discontents. Then did *Welsh*, and other declared Traitors, take the confidence to Preach openly in *Fife*, and *Tiveot-dale*, which before had been orderly places; and there they were entertain'd and encourag'd to debauch the People from their Duty to the King, and the Church. And if these bold attempts, and disorderly practises had not then been timely quell'd by his *Grace's* care, and conduct, it is easie to Divine to what eminent hazard, our Peace, and Government had been expos'd

Whether our Fanaticks were then under-hand encourag'd to commit these insolencies, by designing malcontents, time the revealer of secrets may shew; but it is beyond all peradventure, that scandalous and unreasonable divisions caus'd by nothing, but envy, and discontent, did then animate, embolden them to these turbulent, practices; and therefore it seems not improbable, that the same discontented party envying the Duke his glorious reception, and the just esteem he hath with his Prince, and intending to frustrate his best counse's, and endeavours for preserving this, and by consequence the Kingdom of *England* in Peace; have now conjured up the Fanatical Spirit again, to act in more insolent irregularities, than at any time heretofore. But let the Cause be what it will, the Conventicles were never so numerous and frequent, as they now begin, and sometime after continued to be in *Fife*, *Clidsdale*, *Tiveot-dale*, *Galloway*, *Sterlingshire*, and *Carriſt*; the last of which Shires had always been peaceable, and orderly till now, when they all conspir'd to envade the publick peace. At these Field-Conventicles would meet sometimes 5. or 6. thousand, sometimes 8. or 9. thousand at a time, as many of which as were fit to bear Armes, and could provide them, never fail'd to come appointed into the Field. For this reason our Laws and Proclamations stile these Field-meetings *Rendezvouzes* of Rebellion, which is as modest a Name as they can deserve. For most of the principle Preachers among them, as *Welsh* and *Arnott*, are either attainted or declared Traytors, and were Actors in the Rebellion of 66. and the *Harangues* (for I will not call them Sermons) which they make to the People, tend to nothing, but to make them Rebel, and possess them with hatred against the King; and the Church. In *October* last at *Sanchil* in *Carriſt*, Mr. *Welsh*, attended with seven or eight seditious Preachers, made a preachment to the principal division of a multitude upwards of 7000. people upon *St. John* 11. 34. 35. In this Preachment among much other

Treasonable stuff he spoke these words. *The King, the Nobles, and the Prelates are sure the Murderers of Christ*, and then sitting down in his chair, he said, *Oh People, I will be silent. Speak O People, and tell me what good the King hath done since his home-coming; yea hath he not done all the mischief a Tyrant could do-----?* At another Conventicle not long after, he spoke thus, or to this purpose, *That he was confident, that God would yet assert the cause of Pentland-hills, in spite of the Curates ( for so they call the Orthodox Ministers ) and their Masters the Prelates, and in spite of the Prelates, and their Master the King, and in spite of the King, and his Master the Devil.*

But to proceed, at these Field-Meetings they administred the Solemn League and Covenant to the People; and made them swear never to hear the Orthodox Ministers more: and in a most Popish manner, gave them the Sacrament thereupon. They also kept Classical meetings, where they ordain'd Ignorant, and Factious striplings, and by an unparalleled Act of Schism, took the Confidence to re-ordain one Mr. *John Cuninghame*, who was formerly ordain'd Presbyter by the late Lord Bishop of Galloway, and likewise presum'd to receive the Hypocritical Confessions, and Repentance of such as they had perswaded, or suborn'd to confess the great sin of joyning in Worship with our Church. They admitted ruling Elders in several precincts, and with incomparable Impudence proceeded to Institute, and induct Preachers of their Tribe, both into vacant and full Churches; according to Mr. *Mitchel's* Judgment, who asserts in his Apology, that every Parish ought to choose its Preacher, and that Patronage is but a Popish Rite. They also confiding in their Numbers, proceeded in manifest contempt of Authority to erect Preaching-Houses; particularly in *Carriſt*, and *Galloway*, were Persons of no mean Quality and Interest, harbour'd and careſſed those great Apostles of the Cause *Welsh* and *Arnott*; who ride about these distressed Shires in great State, and Security, with Guards consisting of 40. 50. or greater numbers of Horse. From these Insolencies they proceeded to invade the Houses, and menace the Persons of some Orthodox Ministers, whom Mr. *Welsh* declared either in a Conventicle, or *Presbytery*, somewhere in *Carriſt*, that it was as lawfull to kill, as for the *Israelites* to kill the *Canaanites*, if they complained to the men ( for so he called the Magistrates ) in Power. These out-rages so frightened the Orthodox Clergy, that many Ministers forsook their charges; and some of our Bishops, who lived in those distracted corners, were forc'd for their security, to repair to this Town. Thus all things seem'd to run into confusion;

fusion ; and if excellent methods had not been used to prevent the sequel of such dangerous beginnings ; the faction by this time had grown into a formed party, and disputed the *Cause* , with an Army in the Field.

The first thing the Privy Council did, was to issue out Proclamations for the execution of the Laws against these Conventicles; and to use all means possible for seizing the persons of *Welsh*, and *Arnott*, and other seditious Preachers : but the former were rendered in effectual, the Heritable Sheriff, and Bayliffs, and other Officers of the seditious districts refusing to act ; and the latter could not be brought to effect, because the Preachers are always so strongly guarded in publick ; and in private shelter themselves with such superstitious adorers of their holy persons, as none of the proposed rewards can tempt to betray. Disorders thus continuing, the Council acquainted His Majesty with the dangers they threatned, and humbly mov'd him to send speedy Orders, that a considerable number of his *Irish* Troops should march to the maritime Borders next adjacent to *Galloway* and the Western Shires, to be ready for Transportation if occasion requir'd, His Majesty, who was long since acquainted with the Spirit and Principles of our *Remonstrator-Presbyterians*, in compliance with the wholesome advice of his Privy Council, immediately ordered, that a well-appointed Party, of about 3000. Horse and Foot, should be sent under the conduct of the Loyal, and Valiant Viscount of *Granard*, our Countrey-man, to quarter upon the Maritime Borders , and to March at the Command of the Privy Council here. This particular care of His Majesty, and the approach of the Forces, did very much surprize the Fanatical party, who were made to believe by the malcontents, that the Duke had no interest at Court, nor was capable to procure any extrinsical assistance, although they should rebel. The *Irish* Forces being arrived upon the Coasts, the Council were resolv'd to try what fair and gentle means would do; and thereupon directed Letters to the Heritors (whom you call Landlords) of *Air*, and *Renfrew*, to know if they would undertake by their own power to reduce these disorders, having the King's Authority for that effect. The *Heritors* met in a full Assembly, and after two days consultation return'd Answer by three Noble Lords, whom the Council had sent to attend them, that they cou'd not undertake by their own Power to keep the Countrey free from Conventicles, or any disorders that might ensue thereupon.

You must know that our Landlords have far more Authority over their Tenants, than yours; insomuch, that in the most disaffected places, there are no Conventicles, where the Heritors, and Superiors use their



private Authority to keep the the people constant to the Church. All the World here knows, that there is not a more Fanatical shire in this Kingdom than *Murray*; and yet by the single Authority, and Interest of that most Loyal and deserving person the Earl of *Murray*, it is kept in as perfect Order and Obedience, as if there were no Conventicles in the World. But, as for the aforesaid shires, the Council expected no such answer from them, because they of all others have had most indulgence, as having Non-conformist Ministers legally settled in very many Churches among them. which one would think, if that party had any Reason, modesty, or Conscience, might have kept them from troubling the publick Peace. Therefore the Council having received such an unreasonable answer from the Heritors of these more indulged shires, concluded what returns they might expect from others; and therefore began now to think it was high time to reduce them to their duty by force. Whereupon, knowing that the body of this Kingdom was Loyal, they resolved rather to reduce the Fanaticks by our own intrinsical power, than to call in His Majesties *Irish* Forces, unless there should be absolute need. Wherefore to the Kings standing Forces, they added the *Militia* of the most Loyal County of *Angus*, and admitted the *Auxiliary* Forces, which several Loyal Lords that have Interest, and Authority in the *Highlands*, did proffer to raise out of their Vassals, and Dependents for His Majesties special Service in this critical exigence of Affairs. And by his Majesties special Approbation and Command, they were all united into one Army, under the Conduct of the most Valiant and Loyal Earl of *Lin Lithgow*, who towards the latter end of last *Jan.* marched into the Western shires.

And that all things might be transacted in a fair, legal, and orderly manner; there is also sent along with the Army a Committee of the privy Council, consisting of Eleven Right Honourable persons, who are invested with sufficient power, Civil, and Criminal, to punish all sorts of Offenders, and are now steddily pursuing those great ends for which they were sent thither. There's a strict Correspondence betwixt them, and the privy Council, to whom they sent frequent accounts of their Proceedings, and from whom they received such measures, and directions, as may most conduce to reduce and secure those disorderly shires. To which purpose in the first place, they proceed to disarm them, causing a'l suspected persons to deliver their Arms ( whereof great Provision was made ) to their respective Sheriffs upon Oath, who are to deliver them to the Major General, and to be sent by him to His Majesties Garrisons. They

They have likewise order to plaint Garrisons in what places soever they shall think fit, and have proceeded to do Execution on the new built Meeting-houses, those Temples of *Baal Berith*; by Commanding that they should be pulled down, and that their Materials should be burnt. They are likewise to tender a *Bond* to be taken by all Heritors, wherein, as Masters of Families, they are to be bound for themselves, their Wives, Children and Servants, and, as Landlords, for their Tenants and Cottagers, that they shall not go to Conventicles, nor receive, or supply Conventicle-Ministers, but live orderly in Obedience to the Law; so that if their Wives, or any of their Children or Servants Transgress, they will be bound to undergo the Legal Penalties for them. But in case their Tenants or Cottagers Transgress, they will be bound to present them to Justice, or turn them off their Tenements, or else to be liable to the Penalties they shall incur.

The form of this Bond, or civil Anticovenant, was drawn up by the Privy Council, and is as followeth:

**I** *I, my Wife, Bairns, and Servants respectively, shall no ways be present at any Conventicles, and disorderly Meetings in time coming, but shall live orderly in obedience to the Law, under the Penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. As also, I bind and oblige me, that my whole Tenants, and Cotters respectively, their Wives, Bairns, and Servants shall likewise refrain, and abstain from the said Conventicles, and other illegal Meetings not Authorized by the Law; and that they shall live orderly in Obedience to the Law. And further, that I, nor they shall receipt supply, or Commune with forfeited persons, intercommuned Ministers, or Vagrant Preachers, but shall do our utmost endeavour to apprehend their persons. And in case my said Tenants, Cotters, and their fore-saids shall Contravene; I shall take, or apprehend any person, or persons guilty thereof and present them to the Judge Ordinar, that they may be Fined, or Imprisoned therefore, as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. Otherwise I shall remove them, and their Families from off my ground. And if I shall fail herein, I shall be liable to such Penalties as the said Delinquents have incur'd by the Laws, consenting to the Registration hereof in the Books of His Majesties Privy Council, or Books of any other Judges competent, that Letters and Executorials may be direct hereupon in form as Effects and Constitutes my Procurators.*

This is the tenor of the Bond; and least the force thereof should be eluded, the Privy Council have declared, That every Heritor, that shall

receive into his Lands, or Service any Tenants, or Servants of any other Heritor, without a Certificate from him, or the Minister of the Parish where they liv'd, that they lived orderly, as to this matter, shall be subject, to such Fines as the Privy Council shall think fit to inflict to punish them for their Crime, and repair the damage that shall accrue to the Heritor, or Master whose Tenants or Servants they did receive. All the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Judges (whom we call the Senators of the Colledge of Justice) together with the Advocates Writers, and all others belonging to the Society of the Lawyers, have taken this Bond, as also the Lords of the Exchequer, and the Justiciary Lords, which is a very prevalent example, and little doubt is made, but the generality of the Subjects of the Nation will chearfully sign it; as being so beneficial to Authority, and so proper an expedient to recover the common people into their Wits. And it cannot possibly give the least umbrage of scruple to the Conscience of the most weak, or peevish Dissenter; being nothing but a purely civil alternative Obligation, to do what the Law requires, or submit to the Penalties therein contained. Perhaps it may seem strange in *England*, that a Landlord should be bound in this manner for his Tenants; but there is nothing more reasonable, and customary here; because our Heritors have such a despotic power over their Tenants, as you cannot well imagine, unless you had lived here.

And in case any persons shall finally refuse to take this Bond (as some *Fife* and *Western* Gentlemen have made difficulty at it.) The Privy Council (according to the legal & uncontroverted Practise of that Bord in all ages) hath ordained, that Letters shall be directed to them to charge them forthwith to give in Security to His Majesties Privy Council, that They, their Wives, Children, Tenant, & Servants, shall keep His Majesties Peace, and particularly that they shall not go to Conventicles, nor harbor Rebels, nor intercommuned persons, and that they shall keep the Persons, Families, and Goods of their Regular Ministers harmless, under the double of every mans valued yearly Rent, if he have any, or of such Penalties as shall be thought Convenient by His Majesties Council, or their Committee, if they have none; which if they shall refuse to do within Six days next after the charge, they are to be declared His Majesties *Rebels* (as the manner is here) with the sound of an Horn.

To conclude, the Committe is to proceed to the condign Censuring of such, as shall appear upon proof to have harbored *Welsh*, or *Arnott*, or other intercommuned persons, and such also as have invited, or convoked the silly people unto the Field-Assemblies, under pretence of hearing

ing Sermons, and such as contributed by Money, Work, or Materials to build the new *Samaritan* Synagogues; two of which the Earl of *Cassels* was commanded to demolish in *Carriſt*, as was his duty to have done before.

All this hath been done under the wise Conduct of the Duke of *Larerdale*, to whose presence among us, next under God, this poor Church, and Kingdom are redevable, that they have been preserved from Confusion, and blood. And I question not, but his Vigorous enleavours to suppress this Schism (the like whereof in all respects was never yet heard of in any Age, or Nation) have by this time effectually Confuted all the lying reports that were sent into *England* by our men of Schism, and Faction, with a design to render him odious in our Neighbour Country, and discredit his administration here.

But I beg Mr. *Mitchel*, and your pardon, for leaving him so long. I could not forbear to interſert this account of his Western Brethrer, whose Confessor he liv'd, and whose Martyr he dy'd. I'll now return to viſit him again, and leave him no more, till I see him in his Grave.

In the interval betwixt his condemnation, and execution, he ſeldom ſpoke of his approaching Death, but as of a Martyrdom or Murther; and glory'd that he was accounted worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt. This is the ſtile of his ſhort Speech, and the frequent Viſits, Papers and Meſſages that he received from the Brotherhood to dye with Courage in the *Cauſe*, and to ſeal the Truth, that is, the *Covenant*, with his Blood; together with the frequent debauches which he made with Ale, Wine, and Brandy, contributed very much to heighten his obſtination, and make him inſenſible of his crime.

You cannot imagine how much the Fanaticks of all parts were concern'd about him. From the Weſt, a private meſſage was ſent to the Archbiſhop, to aſſure his Grace, that if Mr. *James Mitchel* were hang'd, another ſhould not fail to execute his deſign. His Maſteſty's Advocate, who purſu'd him, receiv'd a threatning anonymous Letter, and the common talk of this Town was, that Mr. *James Mitchel's* Blood ſhould be reveng'd upon the whole Order; and truly I doubt not, but if all the Fathers of our Church, and all the Clergy under them had but one Neck, that there are at leaſt 300. Covenanted *Mitchels* behind, that would ſtrive to cut it off.

In the Year, 1668. when he made the attempt, the Fanatical Party made a ſport of it; and as if the ruine of the Church were ſure to follow upon it, many fair pretenders, that out of compl'yance to authority, had

hitherto given our Bishops that particular veneration that was due to their Character, began now to slight them, and would scarce give them that common respect which was due to other Men. The like change was observ'd upon the late insolencies of the *Whigs* in the *West*; the respect of our Bishops, and Episcopal Clergy, began visibly to decay, and some that were then in a condition to do the Faction a kindness, had the confidence to say, that they knew no reason there was to oppose the inclinations of the people, to support about a dozen Men.

And while this Martyr of Iniquity lay in Goal, the mouths of our Fanatics were full of railing against the Bishops; and the Rascality, who are often taught to speak the fence of greater Persons, were heard to say, that it were better the Primate should be hang'd than he. In the *Ottave* betwixt his sentence, and execution, he receiv'd, as I was credibly inform'd, 400. Dollars in private gifts, which was interpreted by the party for the particular care that God had of him, who never sees the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging their bread.

The day before his Execution he sent to the Provost, or Mayor of *Edinburgh*, to desire a Stage larger than ordinary, because he had a great number of Friends, that intended to appear at his Execution in Mourning: but his Lordship was more honest, and prudent than to grant the vain-glorious Villain his desire. When he was upon the Ladder, he called the *Psalm* to be sung, which if you do not remember, I desire you before you proceed, to consult. When the *Psalm* was ended, he took out of his *Psalm* Book two Copies of his intended Speech, which he threw among the people, for there had he put them to elude the search. After his Body was cut down, it was convey'd to *Magdalen* Chappel, from whence it was carried to Burial in great Pomp, being attended with at least 40. Mourners, whereof the *Justice General's Gentleman* was one. 'Tis reported also the Herse-cloth was of Velvet, but certain it is, it was more than ordinary brave.

The Evening before his Execution, Information was brought to the Provost, that the Women of *Edinburgh* ( I mean the Fanatical part of them ) had enter'd into a conspiracy to rescue him between the Prison and the Gallows; which oblig'd his Lordship to provide extraordinary Guards, capable to prevent any such design. This Information was well grounded, if it were not true, for there was never seen such an appearance of that Sex at any Execution, as was at his, where a Body of at least 7 hundred Sisters stood together almost in *Rank* and *File*.

The



The next Morning after his Execution there were several Copies of his Speech, and several Libellous Verses put up in several places of the City, one Copy whereof made by some Fanatick Poetafter, and fixed upon the great Cross. I here send you, with an Answer in another Column, which was made about two or three days after, by a better *Poet*, and better principled Man

Deploratio Mortis Jacobi Mitchel,

**H** *En quo jura ruunt ? & siccine candida Virtus,  
Et Recti diceſſit amor ? tibi Scotia multas  
Perſida Gens parat inſidias, rituque Proſano  
Poluit Impietas ſacraria ; membra piorum  
Ab truncata jacent ; qui ſacri ſœdera paſſi.  
Non auſi violare ; fidei rectique tenaces  
Perſtiterant ; quo tanta ruunt perſuria ? Quāſſam  
Funditus an tentant Solymam convellere, magni  
Gens ſecura Dei, ſpecioſaque Tempſa Sionis  
Diruere, obductis involvens cuncta tenebris ?  
Quo ruit Impietas ? vanas ſic ibit in auras  
Paſſa fides ? Perjura manus coit omnis in unum  
In ſcelus horrendam ; ſævos feritate Leones  
Mittit in Occaſum, ſuſcepta ut ſœdera Regni  
Deleat, & Chriſti prædetur ovile ; cupido  
Namque tenet lucri nunquam ſatiata, nefandum  
Proh Scelus ! an Pharias miſeri remeamus ad oras ?  
Anne iterum noſtræ ſic Religionis habenas  
Papa Reget ? nunquam ne aderit Deus ultor, inulti  
Dum pereunt juſti, dextrâque ultrice furorem  
Comprimet ? hunc rabioſa lupi non terruit ira.  
Fraudibus occultis odiisque immanibus annos  
Quatuor afflicto, non cæco carcere clauſum  
Vincula terrebant, vinculis cruciatus in arctis  
Perſtitit, exiliique tulit mala cuncta, reductus  
Juſ regidum perpeſſus obit ; quis cætera nescit.*

Epitaphium ejusdem, ubi ipſe introducitur loquens.

*Quo veſana ruit gens, & vis efferæ præceps ?*

*Quo ruit impietas, & sine lege furor ?  
 Rebus an intrepidis constantia victa fatiscit ?  
 An metuit vanas mens labefacta minas ?  
 In te fixa Deus mea spes, te intentus anhelo,  
 Intrepidus carpam te duce mortis iter  
 Sævus at iste lupus, quia mens intelligit, inde  
 Se sciat in magnum tela movere Deum. Finis.*

*Quo autem modo hætenus mortuo (cui soli Epitaphium ex vi voces debetur)  
 carpendum sit mortis iter, confæderatis fratribus problema esto.*

**Congratulatio de morte Jacobi Mitchel Parricidæ.**

**I***N te jura cadunt, quia à te candida virtus  
 Et Recti diceßit amor ; tibi Scotia pænas  
 Perfida Grex ! meritas parat : ah quæ more profano  
 Fædasti Christi sacraria, membra piorum  
 Tu truncata dabas, tu sacri fædera pacti  
 Ausu novo violare ; fidei rectique tenaces  
 Exilio multans ; tua sic perjuria quassam  
 Tentabant Solymam convellere funditus, alti  
 Grex secura Dei ! Speciosaque Tempia Sionis  
 Diris, obductis involvens cuncta tenebris.  
 Huc ruit impietas, tenues sic ivit in auras  
 Pacta fides ; periura manus coit omnis in unum  
 In scelus horrendum ; sævos feritate Leones  
 Mittit ab Occasu, suscepta ut fædera Regni  
 Deleat, & Christi prædetur ovile ; Cupido  
 Namque tenet lucri nunquam satiata, nefandum  
 Proh Scelus ! in Pharias remeavimus oras,  
 Atque iterum nostræ sic Relligionis habenas  
 Paparegebat ; adest nunc, nunc Deus ultor, inulti  
 Ne pereant justî, dextræque ultrice furorem  
 Comprimet. Hunc Divina lupum non terruit ira,  
 Fraudibus occultis odiisque immanibus actum ;  
 Grassantem rabie, solitæque cupidine cædis.  
 Horruit ejectum Patria peregrinus, at æquum  
 O cælum ! exilii postquam mala tanta tulisset,  
 Tormenta in Patria atque homicidæ vincla parantur ;  
 Tandem perstringunt sceleratum vincula collum.  
 Exitus hic dignus tam prodigialibus ausis.*

*Ius æquum perpeſſus obit; ſed cætera neſcit,  
 Æternos quiquis nondum damnatur ad ignes. Finis;  
 Epitaphium ejuſdem, ubi ipſe ab inferno introducitur loquens.  
 Quò veſana ruis Grex, & viſ eſſera præceps ?*

*Quò ruis impietas, & ſine lege furor ?  
 Heu mea ſero nimis conſtantia victa fatiſcit,  
 Sera, ſed atroci ſænore pœna venit.*

*Jam Cælo extorri terror Deus ipſe; coquenda  
 Dum manus in Stygio Sanguinolenta lacu.*

*Chriſti ſi quis ad huc lupas expugnatur Oviliſ;  
 Se ſciat in magnum tela movere Deum. Finis.*

*Iſdem pene verbis convellitur quibus adſtruitur impietas. Ambroſ.*

There was alſo a ſevere Satyr in *Scottiſh* made in revenge to the many  
 Libels, which the Fanaticks ſcatter'd about Town upon this occaſion.  
 I got a Copy of it, which I here preſent unto you, Entitled as it was  
 to the Memory of Mr. *James Mitchel*.

**O**-I-ES O-y-es Covenanters  
 Filthy, Cruel, lying Ranters  
 Come here, and ſee your murdering Martyr  
 Sent to Hell i' th' Hangmans Garter;  
 Your ſealing Witneſſes we hear  
 Are Mr. James Mitchel, and Major Weir:  
 One with his hand, but had no pith,  
 Th' other your Wives know well wherewith,  
 Which makes them ſigh, and ſighing ſay,  
 Wellſh can but Preach, but Weir could pray.  
 It's this that all Religion ſhames,  
 To give Hells Vices Heavenly names.  
 Then Devils, then caſt off your Masks,  
 Murder, and Whoredom are your Tasks,  
 Which you to all the World proclaim.  
 Boaſting, and glorying in your ſhame,  
 And ſay your Covenant doth allow  
 This, Mawgre your Baptiſmal vow,  
 And that the holy Oath doth bind you  
 To leave ſuch holy Seed behind you.  
 For at, and after your long prayers,  
 You lye together pairs by pairs,

*And every private Meeting-place,  
 Is a Bawdy-house of Grace;  
 You shew it is your loving Natures,  
 To be sweet fellow-feeling Creatures.  
 But to prophane your Holy Order.  
 With Incest, Buggery, and Murder,  
 Is plainly to proclame you Devils,  
 And horrid Crimes to be no evils.  
 Mas James Mitchel lay four year  
 In Griffal's house with Major Weir,  
 And from his Ghostly Father learns  
 To lye with Women, and get no Barns,  
 The Mystery of the Tribe, a Trick,  
 Makes all the Women mad Fanatick,  
 And now they both in Hell are met,  
 Where for your Company they wait.  
 Then fill your measure, and post on  
 To your deserv'd Damnation.  
 Go Whore, and Bugger, Kill and Pray,  
 Till every Dog shall have his day,  
 Or go together to Hell in Troops,  
 Else strive for new Grasse-market-loops.  
 He that Whores, best, and Murders most,  
 Of him the Sect shall always boast.  
 And put him, as they've put Mas James  
 Among their Saints, and Martyrs Names.*

**Y**OU see the *Latin* Verses take notice of the *West*, as a place above all others of this Kingdom, wherein Fanaticism most abounds. This must needs awaken your curiosity to enquire from what magnetism it is that our Conventicle-preachers have acquir'd such a strong verticity to that point. Truly, the reason is the same for which yours haunt *London* and the most opulent Towns, and Countys of *England*, even the Riches of the place; for where the Silver is, there are the *Suisses*, where the Carcase is, there are these Vulturs gathered together. There's a necessity laid upon them to Preach the Gospel there; yea, woe unto them if they Preach it not in *Fife* and the *West*, where so many Rich Traders, and Heritors live. But as for the *Highlands*, and other poorer Countys, they have no Christian compassion for them, but let them live and dye in Ignorance and Idolatry; because their Souls are not so precious for want of

of Silver and Gold. I remember when I was at *London* in 76. I heard a famous Conventicle-minister say, That if it were not for the Non-conforming-ministers, thousands of Souls in that populous City would starve for want of the Word. I very much wondered to hear him say so; considering how many hundred Sermons were Preached every week by the Orthodox Ministers, and the best I thought, that ever I had heard. But being the next day in some Company, which was discoursing about Conventicles, one or two of them began to tell of the great store of Money the Conventicle-preachers had in the *Banks*, and how some of them kept their Coaches, and he believ'd it would not longer e their wives kept their Chairs. Then I began to understand the reason of the great care those Gentlemen had to feed the Souls of the good Citizens; and was very glad that to keep a Coach was no longer a sign of *Prelatical Pride*. When I return'd home, I told our *Whigs*, that the Non-conformist-ministers of *London* began to keep Coaches, but the greatest part of them would not believe me; and those that did, said with sighs, they were sorry, that there were *Dietrepheses* among them, that loved the preeminence, and that God would have a controversie with them for their *Prelatical Pride*. The like I have seen in a Preface to a Presbyterian Treatise of Divinity, Printed about that time, wherein the anonymous Author (whose name I have been told) complains of the *Prelatical Spirit*, that be an to shew it self among the Non-conforming-ministers; whereof some liveing in great Plenty, and State, contemned others who were poor, and whose lot was fallen in places, where Persecution did abound.

In the *Scottish*, which you will call the *English* Verses, you see the Poet upbraids their Baptisml Vow with the Covenant; not, as I conceive, upon the common account, as another Poet may do, but because 'tis the frequent practise of our *Whig-preachers* to Baptize the Children of their disciples into the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as well as into the *Covenant of Grace*. He also takes notice of the intimate Familiarity betwixt Mr. *Mitchel*, and Major *Weir*; and unless you will be at the pains to read the life of the latter, as well as the former, you'l never be able to understand the Satyr, nor know whether the Satyrist's indignation be just, or unjust. He promise you beforehand, That the Narrative shall affect you both with Wonder, and Indignation; though for the honour of our Nature, and Religion, I wish no such stories were extant in the world. Nay confident I am; that when you have consider'd it in all the circumstances that attend it, you will say that he who is the subject thereof, was one of the most



prodigious sinners that ever was extant of humane race. For there's nothing in History comparable to him, nor I hope will ever be; and had not our blessed Saviour told us, that men may be so wicked, as to sin beyond forgiveness, I could scarce have believed that any Man, much less a Christian, could have committed uncleanness in all specieses, with Women, Devils, and Beasts.

But such a Monster was this *Pharisee*, of whom I am going to give you an account; which is partly taken out of the publick Register of our criminal Court, and where that cannot relieve me, from common fame, the notoriety of the things related, or the Authority of Persons of known Integrity, and great Reputation in the World.

He was born, and bred in the Western parts of this Kingdom; which, as it appears from the preceeding Narrative, hath ever been the most Fanatical part of our Countrey, and most disaffected to the King, and the Church. There he was early prepossessed with the principles of Schism, and Rebellion, which he shew'd upon all occasions, particularly in the beginning of the late Rebellion, wherein he was a forward stickler, and by his extraordinary zeal for the *Cause*, raised himself to a greater command in some Troop, or Company, than Men of his mean Original use to arrive unto here. About the Year 1649. he had the great trust of the Guards of this City committed unto him under the quality of *Major*, and from that time, to the day of his Infamous Death, was always called by the name of *Major Weir*. He behav'd himself in this Office with great cruelty, and insolence towards the Loyal party, being very active in discovering and apprehending the Cavaliers, and bringing them to be arraign'd & tryed for their Lives. He used to insult and triumph over them in their miseries, and persecute them with all manner of Sarcasms and Reproaches, when they were led out like Victims to publick Execution; as many yet alive can testifie to the World. In particular, the barbarous Villain treated the Heroick Marquess of *Montrose*, with all imaginable insolence, and inhumanity, when he lay in Prison, making his very calamities an Argument, that God, as well as Man, had forsaken him; and calling him, *Dog Atheist, Traytor, Apostate, Excommunicate Wretch*, and many more such intollerable names. This cruel manner after which he used to outrage the poor Royalists, pass'd among the people for extraordinary zeal; and made them consider him as a singular Worthey whom God had raised up to support the *Cause*. He studied the art of Dissimulation, and Hypocrisie, always affecting a formal gravity, and demureness in his looks, and deport men,

ment; and employing a vast and tenacious memory, which God had given him, in getting without Book such words, and phrases of the Holy Scriptures, as might serve best in all companies to make him pass for an Holy and gifted Man. He had acquir'd a particular gracefulness in whining and sighing, above any of the Sacred Clan, and had learn'd to deliver himself upon all serious occasions in a far more ravishing accent than any of their Ministers could attain unto. By these and other Hypocritical Arts he had got such a name for sanctity, and devotion, that happy was the Man with whom he would converse, and blessed was the Family in which he would vouchsafe to pray.

For he pretended to pray only in the Families of such as were Saints of the highest Form; insomuch, that the Brethren and Sisters of these precincts would strive who should have him to exercise in their Houses, and of those that lived at a greater distance, some would come forty or fifty miles to have the happiness to hear him pray. He had indeed, but by what assistance will be seen hereafter, a wonderful fluency in extemporary Prayer, and what through Enthusiastical phrases, and what through Extasies, and raptures, into which he would appear transported, he made the amazed people presume he was acted by the Spirit of God. Besides praying, he used to exhort, and bless the Families in which he prayed; but he never undertook to Preach in them, for fear of invading the Ministerial Province; which certainly would have offended the *Kirk*.

After this manner, and in this mighty reputation he lived till the Year 1670. which was the 70<sup>th</sup>. year of his Age. When like the Tyrant *Tiberius*, after so many Murthers, and sorts of unnatural Lusts, he was no longer able to endure the remorse of his awakened conscience, but to ease the inquietudes of his guilty mind, was forced to accuse himself; which he first of all did among those of his own party, and desired them to bring him to publick Justice to expiate for his abominable crimes. But they considering what a confounding scandal, and dishonour the Hypocrisie of such an eminent Professor would reflect upon the whole Sect, did with all possible care and industry strive to conceal the Major's condition, which they did for several months; till one of their own Ministers, whom they esteemed more forward than wife, revealed the secret to the Lord *Abbotshall*, then Provost of *Edinburgh*, who judging humane Nature incapable of such horrid crimes, as the Minister told him the Major had confessed, concluded he was fallen into a phrenzy, or high degree of melancholy, and therefore courteously sent some Phy-

ficians of his own perſwaſion and acquaintance to viſit him, and Phyſick him for his diſtempered Brain. But the Phyſicians returning to the Provost, aſſured him, that the Major was in good health, and that he was free of Hypochondriack Diſtempers, and had as ſound intellectuals as ever he had had, and that they believed his diſtemper was only an exulcerated Conſcience, which could not be eaſ'd till he was brought to conſign puniſhment, as with cryings, and roarings he deſired to be. Afterwards the Provost for his further ſatisfaction ſent ſome Conventicle-Miniſters, to enquire into his condition, and make a report thereof; who finding it impoſſible to diſguiſe the matter, which now was Town-talk, told his Lordſhip that the Major was not affected with melancholy; but th at the terrours of God which were upon his Soul, urg'd him to confeſs, and accuſe himſelf. The Provost thereupon began to conclude, that he had good grounds to take publick notice of this affair; and therefore without further enquiry ſent the Guards of the City to ſeize upon the Major, and his Siſter, who was involv'd in his confeſſions, and carry them both to the publick Goal. There they were viſited by Perſons of all ſorts and qualities, Clergymen, Laymen, Phyſicians, Lawyers, conforming, and Non-conforming Miniſters, who all flock'd thither to ſee this Monster, and diſcourſe with him about his horrible crimes.

They had not been long in Priſon before they were brought to Tryal, which was on the ninth day of *April*, in the aforeſaid year, 1670. They were try'd before that Learned Civilian Mr. *William Murray*, and Mr. *John Preſtoun* Advocates, who were made Judges by Commiſſion for that time. They were purſued by his-Majeſties laſt Advocate, Sir *John Niſbett*, and the Jury by which they were try'd, was *Gideon Shaw* Stationer; *James Penderer* Vintner; *James Tomſon* Felt-maker; *Robert Brown* tioner, *James Brown* Feltmaker, *Robert Johnſton* Skinner; *John Clighorn* Merchant; with many more ſufficient Citizens of *Edinburgh*; moſt of which, together with the greater part of the Witneſſes hereafter mentioned, are yet alive.

The Court being ſet, the Majors Libel was read, the ſum of which was contain'd theſe four particulars. *Primò*, That he enticed and attempted to deſile his German Siſter, *Jane Weir*, when ſhe was but ten years old, or thereabout, and that he lay with her when ſhe was ſixteen years old, while they both dwelt in Family with their Father; and afterwards had frequent carnal dealing with her in the Houſe of *Wicket-shaw* in her younger years; and laſtly, that after ſhe was 40. years old, he lived in a ſtate of Inceſt with her, in his houſe at *Edinburgh*, where they dwelt together many years.

*Secundò*

*Secundo*, That he committed Incest with *Margaret Bourdon*, Daughter to *Mein*, his Deceased Wife.

*Tertiò*, That he committed frequent Adulteries, during the Life of his said Wife, both with married, and unmarried Women, and particularly with *Bessy Weems*, his Servant Maid whom he kept in his House for the space of twenty years, during which time he lay with her as familiarly as if she had been his Wife.

*Quartò*, That to his Fornication, Adulteries, and Incests, he proceeded to add the unnatural Sin of Beastiality, in lying with Mares, and Cows; particularly in polluting himself with a Mare, upon which he rod into the West Country, near *New Mills*. All which crimes particulariz'd in manner aforesaid, he acknowled'd judicially at the Bar:

The sum of *Jane* his Sisters Libel is reducible to these two heads. First to the Charge of Incest, which she committed with her Brother; and Secondly, to the charge of Sorcery, and Witchcraft, but most especially of consulting Witches, Necromancers, and Devils; and yet more particularly for keeping, and conversing with a Familiar Spirit, while she liv'd at *Dalkeith*, which us'd to spin extraordinary quantities of Yarn for her, in a shorter time than three or four Women could have done the same. All which she judicially confessed in the face of the Court.

Then they proceeded to swear the witnesses, which the Lord Advocate call'd for further probation against them both. Of these *John Oliphant*, *William Johnston*, and *Archibald Hamilton*, Bailies, i. e. Aldermen of *Edinburgh* depon'd, that on the Monday preceeding the Majors Arraignment, he did freely confess, and declare unto them, that he had committed frequent Incests with his Sister *Jane*; divers Fornications, and Adulteries with others persons; and Beastiality with a Mare and a Cow. Master *John Sinclair*, a Conventicle-Minister depon'd, that the day before his Tryal he freely confessed unto him, that he was guilty of Adultery, Incest, and Beastiality, and that his Sister had often been taken out of Bed from him: whereupon asking him if he had ever seen the Devil, he answered, that he had felt him in the dark. But as to his conversation with the devil, the Deponent might have declared more; for he had confessed to him and many others, particularly to the Lord Bishop of *Galloway*, then Minister of *Edinburgh*, that he had lain with the Devil in the shape of a beautiful Woman.

*Margaret Weir*, Wife to *Alexander Weir*, Bookseller in *Edinburgh*, testify'd, that when she was of the Age of 27. years, or thereabouts, she found the Major her Brother, and her Sister *Jane*, lying together in the

Barn at *Wicket-Shaw*, and that they were both naked in the bed together, and that she was above him, and that the Bed did shake, and that she heard some scandalous Language between them, in particular, that her Sister said, she was confident she should prove with Child. Furthermore, she Deposed that *Catherine Cooper* a Servant of the Majors, told her, that he had layn with *Margaret Bourdon* his Wives Daughter, so that she would stay no longer in the House.

*Anne* Wife to *James Simpson*, Book-binder in *Edinburgh*, declared, That on *Monday* preceding, and that day in the morning, that he confessed to her he had committed Incest with his Sister *Jane*, and *Margaret Bourdon* his Wives Daughter; as likewise bestiality with a Mare in the *West* Country, and that he had carnally conversed with his Maid-servant *Bessy Weems* for two and twenty years.

*Mr. Archibald Nisbet*, Writer to the Signet, declared, That in the year 51 or 52. it was reported in the Country, that the Pannel had committed Bestiality with a Mare near *New Mills*, and that he heard it reported the same day, in which it was said he did the Fact. *Mr. John Alexander* of *Leith* deposed the same, and said he was then but half a mile from the place. After these depositions, the Major being examined about his act of Bestiality; declared, That a Gentleman having given him a Mare, he rode upon her into the *West* Country to see some Friends, and dealt carnally with her near *New Mills*, and that a Woman saw him in the Act, and complained of him to *Mr. John Nave* the Minister of *New Mills*; at whose instance he was brought back to the place by some Souldiers, but was there dismissed for want of further probation. And further being asked about the time, he answered, That to the best of his remembrance it was when the Lords, Gentlemen, and Heritors were taken by the *English* at *Elliot*,

As for probation against *Jane Weir*, the Lord Advocate insisted on her own Declaration, and all the Depositions, in which as a party she was involv'd. And being asked if she knew any thing concerning the Correspondence that was said to be betwixt the Devil, and her Brother; she declared, that she had a long time been jealous of it, but was not certain; and that six or seven years before she had found a mark upon his shoulder, like that which is called the Devils mark, at which she was sore afraid.

The Process being thus ended, the Jury did unanimously find the Major guilty of Incest with his Sister, and Bestiality with a Mare, and a Cow, and



and found him guilty of Adultery, and Fornication by a plurality of Votes. They also unanimously brought in *Jane* guilty of Incest with her Brother, whereupon the Deputed Judges Sentenced him to be strangled at a Stake betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, on *Monday* following, the 11th of *April*, and his Body to be burnt to Ashes; and condemned her to be hanged on the *Tuesday* following in the *Grass-market* of *Edinburgh*.

Thus far have I given you a *Juridical* Account of the detestable crimes of this Hypocritical Monstrous Man; I now proceed to acquaint you with other particulars, no less surprizing than the former; which upon strict enquiry I have reason to believe to be as true, as those that are judicially prov'd.

When they were seized, she desired the Guards to keep him from laying hold on a certain Staff, which, she said, if he chanc'd to get into his hand, he would certainly drive them all out of doors, notwithstanding all the resistance they could make. This Magical Staff was all of one piece, with a crooked head of Thorn-wood, she said he received it of the Devil, and did many wonderful things with it: particularly that he used to lean upon it in his Hypocritical prayers, and after they were committed, she still desired it might be kept from him; because if he were once Master of it again, he would certainly grow obdurate, and retract the Confessions which he had so publicly made. *Apollonius Thyaneus* had such a Magical Staff as this, which I believe was a Sacramental Symbol which the Devil gave to the Major, and the Court had some such apprehensions of it, for it was ordered by the Judges to be burnt with his Body.

She also confessed in Prison, that she & her Brother had made a compact with the Devil; and that on the 7th of *September* 1648. they were both Transported from *Edinburgh* to *Musselburgh*, and back again, in a Coach and six Horses, which seemed all of fire, and that the Devil then told the Major of the defeat of our Army at *Preston* in *England*; which he confidently reported in most of its circumstances several days before the news had arrived here. This Prediction did much increase the high opinion the People began to have of him and served him to make them believe, that like *Moses*, he had been with God in the Mount, and had a spirit of Prophecy, as well as of Prayer. But as for her self, she said she never received any other benefit by her Commerce with the Devil; than a constant supply of an extraordinary quantity of yarn, which she was sure (she said) to find ready for her upon the Spindle; whatever business she had been about.

Besides the Bestialities which the Major judicially acknowledged he had committed with the Mare, and Cow, he confessed he had done the  
same

same abominations with three species more, and the Woman that delated him for the Fact near *New Mills*, was by order of the Magistrates of *Lanerk* whipped through the Town by the hand of the Common Hangman, as a slanderer of such an eminent Holy man.

The Fornications, and Adulteries which this ~~divulging~~ (Buggerers are called by the Council of *Ancyra*) Committed with the most Sanctimonious, and Zealous Women of the Sect, are two numerous to be related here. He had got himself the Priviledge, under a pretence of Praying and Exhortation, to go to their Houses, and into their Bed-chambers when he pleased; and it was his practise to visit married Women at such times especially as their Husbands were from home: One especially, who lived in the Street called the *West-bow* in *Edinburgh*, he had several times solicited in her Husbands absence to gratifie his unclean desires; till at last wearied out with his importunity, she told him how much she abhorred his design, and charged him never to come more to her House. Upon this he forbore to visit her for some time, till one night, when she was undressed and ready to step into Bed, the Major suddenly appears standing by her, at which she was so Extreemly frightened, that she fell into a swoon; she had no sooner recovered, but the Major endeavoured to comfort, and assure her, and confirm her against that strange surprize; and renewing his Addresses, he Tempted her with many Arguments, and filthy Speeches, and Gesticulations, telling her he had taken that marvellous way of appearing in private with her, on purpose to secure her reputation, that he would go out of her House in a manner as invisible as he came in. But she by this time having recovered her usual courage and strength, pushed him off with violence, and cry'd out for help to her maid, upon which he immediately disappeared. The Windows, and Doors were all close shut; and I make little doubt, but his Coachman to the fiery Coach conveyed him in and out through the Chimney, or perhaps by the Door, which the cursed Familier might open and shut again as well as if the Angel of the Lord did unlock, and Lock the Prison Door, wherein the Apostles were put.

As for the miserable Woman, she was never well after this Magical manner of Address, which the lustful Satyr made unto her; but immediately fell into a deep Melancholy, which ended in a Languishing Sicknes, whereof not many weeks after she died; and when she was upon her death Bed, she declared this strange Story to many persons yet alive, of great Integrity, Wisdom, and Fame.

I have already told you what an active Rebel this Multiform Sinner was; but I forgot to tell you, that he was an eminent Promoter of the *Western Remonstrance*, in the year 1650. To these principles he stuck as close as to the Devil himself; insomuch, that when the Government of our Church was restored, he avowedly renounced the Communion of it, and endeavoured to widen the Schism to the utmost of his power. He could not so much as endure to look upon an Orthodox Minister, but when he met any of them in the Streets, he would pull his Hat over his eyes in a Pharisaical kind of indignation, and contempt.

While he was in Prison, he acknowledged his Hypocrisie, by which he had deluded men, and mock'd God; declaring, that in all his life he had never prayed to God in private, nor had any power to speak when he attempted to do it; although he had such an extraordinary and charming utterance in his solemn Conventicle-prayers. He also confessed, that he never bow'd his knee to God at his own, or other mens Prayers; which exactly agrees with his Sisters Relation, of his leaning at his Prayers on his Magical Staff, and none of his own party can remember that at any Devotion, even when he seem'd most Rapturous, they ever saw him kneel. Nay furthermore, he confessed, which I cannot mention without horror, that his fluency in Prayer, by which he ravished the People, proceeded from the assistance of the Devil; who, he said, helped him to the words and phrases in which he expressed himself. This hath given several men several ways of Conjecture how it could be done. Some who knew him better than I ever had the unhappiness to do, are of opinion that he was the Praying Oracle of the Devil, out of whom he personally spoke. The reason which they alledge for their conjecture is, that sometimes the sound of his Voice, like the sight of Spirits, had something unnatural in it, as if it had not been form'd by the Organs of Speech.

Others think it reasonable to believe, That he saw all the words, and expressions in his Prayer successively written by the Devil in the air. But upon enquiry, I find that he, like most of the *Extemporarians*, commonly Prayed with his eyes shut; which if it be true, this Hypothesis will never be able to solve those Diabolical *Phænomena* in the Air.

Some again think, that the words and Expressions of his Prayer were represented by the Devil upon the Stage of his Fancy, after the same manner, as when a man dreams he reads such a Letter, or Book. But he never was affected with any Consternations, Tremblings, or Abreptions of mind, which both in true, and false Prophets were the constant effects of such strong and violent impressions, as were required to exhibit such

unwonted representations upon the Imagination: nor after his long Prayers were ended were his natural strength or Spirits exhausted, as, if his Devotion had been *Visionary*, they must have been.

Others therefore considering him as an Apostate from God, and as a Vassal and Apostle of the Devil, think it very agreeable to Divinity to assert, that he was immediately, but yet without much violence, inspired by the Devil, and helped by him both in the Conception and utterance of his Prayers. This they conceive the Evil Spirit might do, like an *assistant form*, by impregnating his Fancy with Enthusiastical conceptions, and thereby rendring his Imagination very turgent, and ready to swell above its banks; which being done by the immediate Operation of the *Evil Spirit*, the wretched *unhappy* could not fail to burst forth in *flumine Orationis*, or a full Torrent of Prayer; and likewise be affected with such moderate Raptures, as yet left him in a condition to understand what he said. Furthermore, to prevent all possible objections, they say, That if God suffered the Devil to counterfeit Prophetical Visions, or the true Spirit of Prophecy under the Law, then they know no reason why it should be thought inconsistent with his goodness, or disagreeable to his infinite wisdom, to permit him under the Gospel, to counterfeit Inspiration, or the true Spirit of Prayer. But for my own part, had not the Monster himself ascribed his fluency in Devotion to the assistance of the Devil, I should have wholly ascribed it to the vigour of his own Enthusiastical Imagination, without any Foreign Force. For not only his fluency in prayer, but the moderate Raptures, and little extatick fits, into which he was transported, are explicable by the natural power of unassisted Imagination, as I could make it out by many examples; and where a natural cause alone is sufficient to account for any effect, I am always sparing to joyn with it a supernatural Cause.

All the while he was in Prison, he lay under violent apprehension of the heavy wrath of God, which put him into that which is properly called Despair; a Despair which made him hate God, and desist from Duty to him, and with which the damned Souls in Hell are reasonably supposed to be constantly affected. In this sence he was desperate, and therefore would admit neither *Church* nor *Conventicle-ministers* to pray for him, or discourse with him about the infinite mercy of God, and the possibility of the forgiveness of his Sins. Much less could he endure to be exhorted to repent, or be brought to entertain any thoughts of Repentance, telling all the World, that he had sinned himself beyond all possibility of Repentance, and Pardon; that he was already Damn'd, that he was sure his Condemnation to Eternal burnings was already pronounced in Heaven,

and that the united prayers of all the Saints in Heaven, and Earth would be vain, and insignificant, if they were offered to God in his behalf. So that when some charitable Ministers of the City, by name the present Bishop of Galloway, and present Dean of *Edinburgh*, were resolved to pray before him for his Repentance, and Pardon, against his consent, he was with much difficulty withheld from interrupting of them in their devotions, and the posture he put himself in when they began to pray, was to lye upon his Bed in a most stupid manner, with his Mouth wide open; and when prayers were ended, being ask'd if he had heard them and attended to them, he told them, *They were very troublesome, and cruel to him, and that he neither heard their devotion, nor cared for it, nor could be the better for all the Prayers that Men or Angels could offer up to Heaven upon his account.*

It was his Interest to believe there was no God; and therefore to ease the torments of his mind, he attempted now and then to comfort, and flatter up himself into this absurd belief, For he was sometimes observ'd to speak very doubtfully about his existence; in particular to say, that if it were not for the terrors which he found tormenting him within, he should scarce believe there was a God.

Being with great tenderness and compassion besought by one of the City-Ministers, that he would not so resolvedly destroy himself, by despairing of God's mercy, which upon Repentance had been granted to Murderers, Adulterers, Sodomists, Bestialists, nay, to those that had denied Christ; he replied in anger, *Trouble me no more with your beseeching of me to Repent, for I know my sentence of damnation is already seal'd in Heaven; and I feel myself so hardned within, that if I might obtain Pardon of God, and all the glories of Heaven for a single wish that I had not committed the sins, with the sence whereof I am so tormented, yet I could not prevail with myself to make that single wish. And were your Soul in my Soul's stead, you would find your exhortations impertinent, and troublesome, for I find nothing within me but blackness and darkeness, Brimstone, and burning to the bottom of Hell.* I have been told by very credible Persons, that the Body of this unclean Beast gave manifest tokens of its impurity, as soon as it began to be heated by the Flames; and certain it is, that after it was burnt, a report was presently sent from hence to the Brethren in the West, that the Malefactor, who was burnt for such execrable crimes, was not Major Weir, but another Person who exactly resembled him, and whom the wicked Prelates & Curates had bribed to personate the Godly Major, ( who was said to be gone with a contribution to the exiled Brethren in Holland ) and call himself by his name. This report was believed in the



*West*; for several Months, till time discover'd that the Major was no more.

As for *Jane*, this incarnate Devils Sister, she was very insensible of her great sins, and was so far from remorse of conscience for them, and despairing of the mercy of God, as she did, that she presum'd too much upon it; placing a great deal of confidence in her constant adherence to the *Covenant*, which she call'd in her Brother *Mitchel's* style, *the cause and Interest of Christ*. She confessed indeed, as he did, that her sins deserv'd a worse Death than she was condemn'd to dye; but she never shewed her self in the least concern'd for what might ensue after death. When she was upon the Ladder she bespoke the People in the following words, *I see a great Croud of People come hitherto day to behold a poor old miserable Creatures Death, but I trow there be few among you, who are weeping and mourning for the broken Covenant*; and having so spoken, shew threw her self in greater hast off the Ladder, than a Person should have done, who was no better prepared for another world.

I could tell you many more remarkable stories of our *Fanatick Zealots* that have been put to death for lying with Beasts, and other unnatural crimes. One not many years since was put to death at *Sterling*, for committing uncleanness with five Individual, among which there were four species of irrational Animals; and immediately before his Execution, the unclean Wretch protested against the Prelates, and boasted of his constant zeal for the *Covenant*; & so without declaring any detestations of his crimes, or desiring the People to pray for him, went off with all assurance into the other World. I should not have related any of these stories, with reflection on the Schismatical party, but that 9 parts in 10 of the horrid sins, such as *Witchcraft*, *Bestiality*, and *Incest*, are found among them; which hath occasion'd a Proverbial Sarcastm in our Language against them, *that the Whigs go to Heaven a Gate of their own*. This is no Hyperbole, but a plain Historical Truth, which our Judges can testify, and which may be confirm'd by the Registers of our criminal Courts.

And then as for Adulteries, and Fornications, those common failings of these Pharisees; there are more of them committed, and more Bastards born within their Country, the *Western Holy-Land* than in all our Nation besides. This is evident, from comparing the Parish-Registers, and the Registers of the Presbyterys or Rural Deaneries of these Shires with the rest of the Parish, and Presbytery Registers in every Diocess of the Church. Not very long since in a Parish within the Presbytery of *Paseley*, there were no fewer than 17. *Whigs*, who did publick Penance for Fornications and Adulteries, at one time. The Parish is very disaffected; so that on that Lords-day, wherein this Herd of Goats did stand

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in the Scat of Publick Repentance; there were but two Regular Persons, besides the Minister and Precentor in the Church. I know you are already wondering, that Fanatical Sinners will do Penance in the *Kirk*, which is as serious, and solemn a piece of worship, as any belongs to the Service of God.

Therefore to unridd'e the *Paradox* unto you, be pleas'd to take notice That if any Fornicator, Adulterer, &c. contumaciously refuse to submit to Church-Censure, his Majesty's Advocate is to pursue him before the Supream Judicature, or Lords of the Session; who upon Evidence of his Contumacy, issue out Order for having him declar'd the *King's Rebel*; that is to be solemnly denounc'd an *Out-Law*, with the sound of an Horn. After the Horning, (for so we call the Denunciation) Letters of Caption, are direct against him; so that if he be taken, he must be put in Prison; and although he be not, he forfeits his Personal, and the Annual Revenues of his real Estate, and becomes altogether *dominus*, as *Theophilus* the Greek Civilian calls *Slaves*, and *Minors*, and all that are *Civily dead*. Hence an *Out-law* is almost in the same Condition with us, as *Deportatus in Insulam*, was among the *Romans*; he is incapable of all Civil Employments, he hath no *Head* in Law: He can make no *Will* or Testament of his own; nor receive any Benefit by any other Man's, So that our *Whigs*, (like yours, who will be Married by the *Common-Prayer*) choose rather to mock God and offend their tender Consciences sometimes, than forfeit their Liberty, and Estates.

I am very well satisfy'd in my own Conscience that I have done nothing against the strictest Ru'es of Christian Charity, in discovering the impious Principles, and practises of this Sect: I have done it upon the same grounds and motives, that the Ancient Fathers publish'd the Wicked Lives and Opinions, of the more primitive *Hereticks*, particularly of the *Gnosticks* who were the Archetype of our *Whigs*: And the Parallel in most Particulars runs so exact between them, that I cannot abstain from comparing them getogether.

First then as the *Gnosticks* were so call'd from *ἔκστησις*, or Knowledge; falsely so call'd, and boasted, that they were the most Knowing; although they really were the most Ignorant of the Christian Religion of any Sect in the World: So our *Whigs* stile themselves the Knowing Christians; and look upon us, who adhere to the Church, but as ignorant, silly, formal People, that understand not Gospel Mysteries, but are spoil'd after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after *Christ*. Secondly, As the *Gnosticks* pretended to understand the Scriptures better than all other *Christians*; and yet did most absurdly and blasphemously

interpret them, as *Epiphan* hath shew'd in many particulars: So our *Whigs* pretend to this guift, as their own peculiar Talent; and yet interpret the Word of God as absurdly, to make it comply with their wicked opinions as the *Gnosticks* did to make it countenance theirs. Mr. *Mitchel's* Papers are full proof of this Charge, besides the Books I mention'd before. Thirdly, As the *Gnosticks* spoke <sup>various</sup> or mighty high things of *Simon Magus*, equalling him with God: So our *Whigs* speak big-swalling words, of *Baal-berith*; or the Solemn League and Covenant, to which they ridiculously apply, whatsoever is said of the Covenant of Grace, which God made with *Abraham*; and of that Political Covenant which he made with the *Jews* and of the Counterpart of it; which the *Jews*, or any of their Kings made, and renew'd with God; baptizing their Children into it, as into the Covenant of the Gospel, and making it the cause, and Interest and Truth of *Christ*.

In the fourth place, As the *Gnosticks* pretended to be *Christians*; and yet in many things comply'd with the wicked *Jews*, and joyned with them in raising Persecution against the Church: so our *Whigs* pretend to be the purest *Protestants* in the World; and yet in many things are real *Papists*, and now joyn must cordially with them to overthrow both our and your Church; which the *Papists*, acknowledg to the strongest Bulwarks against themselves, that are in the Protestant World.

In the fifth place, as the *Gnosticks* contumeliously used the Apostles and Presbyters of the Primitive Church, hating them with the Malice of *Cair*, and gain-saying them among the People after the impudent manner of *Corah*, and opposing them, as *Jannes* and *Jambres*, did *Moses* and *Aaron*: so our *Whigs* treat our reverend Clergy, with all imaginable contempt and barbarity; hating our Bishops with a mortal hatred, calling their Government an Usurpation over God's Heritage; & rail at his Majesty and all other Magistrates that supported them; binding and re-binding themselves by a solemn Oath, to extirpate the Apostolical Function, though in doing of it they should shed an Ocean of *Protestant* Blood.

To proceed, as the *Gnosticks* were raging Waves of the Sea, *i. e.* a fierce, tumultuous, and troublesome people; so are the *Whigs*; As they despised Dominions and spoke evil of Dignities, so do the *Whigs*; as they were murmurers and complainers, so are the *Whigs*, who by their Principles can never be satisfied with any concessions, nor obliged by any favours; but must murmur and complain against *Moses*, and *Aaron* as long as there's a King, and Bishops in the Land.

Furthermore, as the *Gnosticks* scorn'd and despised the Orthodox Christians, and separated from them, calling them Carnal, but themselves

spiritual men; and yet were Sensualists, defilers of the Flesh, and like the *Sodomites* and *Gomorrheans*, given to unnatural Lusts : So our modern Pharisees scorn us calling us Carnal, or at the best, but moral men, and while they pretend to be Holier than the People that adhere to the Church, they fall into all sorts of impurities to the great scandal of the Protestant name. I could run the parallel in more particulars, but I remember I am writing a Letter, wherein a man is not bound to exhaust his Subject, but rather to hint, than to write. And I need not suggest unto you, that I am not so uncharitable, as to conclude every individual among our Whigs in this comparative Character, for doubtless, there are many well meaning people among them, but you must understand me so, as our Saviour is to be understood, where he describes the general Hypocrisie of the Pharisees, among whom notwithstanding were many sincere, and Pious men.

In this sence, it was that St. *Paul* charg'd the whole Nation of the *Cre- tians*, with the Character of one of their Old Poets, That they were Lyars, evil Beasts; & slow bellies; & for my own part, I believe that among the *Gnosticks* themselves, there were a considerable number that liv'd free from those portentous Sins, with which St. *Jude*, & *Epiphanius* charges the Sect.

I Am now drawing near the end of this tedious Historical Letter, in which I hope I have made you ample amends for my six months silence; for which you chid me again in your second Letter, which I received by this days Post. You also tell me in it what Tragical stories are reported at *London*, concerning the present unhappiness of this Kingdom; and the Tyranical Administration of Affairs therein. In particular you say, tis reported by some of our own Countrymen, that the Nation is enslav'd, that there is nothing among us but Plunderings, Burnings, Murders, Ravishing of Women, and all other sorts of devastation, which hath made considerable persons fly the Country, particularly *D. H.* who I assure you came to Town from his own House but three or four days ago. You also tell me, there are reports of a secret correspondence, betwixt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the Viscount of *Granard* on the *Maritime* borders, whose real design, they say it is, to advance the Presbyterian interest, all that hath already been done under his *Graces* conduct against them, being nothing but for shew, and pretext. I need but desire you to recollect, what I have already written concerning the occasion of our present disorders, and the *Faction*, that supports the Schism to make you Divine from what Original these lying Stories proceed, and for what end they disperse them about the world.

I am in this time very weary, but though you be, you

ters once for the Authors sake, as well as for your own. You know I came to *England* the last time upon no other account, but to learn the Language, & promised to keep correspondence with you upon this condition, that you would make remarks upon my Letters, and faithfully Admonish me of all the *Scoticisms*, or all the Words, and Phrases that are not current *English* therein. I confess I have a great Veneration for our own, & the Northern *English* Language upon the account of the *Anglo-Saxon*, to which they are so nearly ally'd; but yet I think it prudence to observe that rule in *Macrobius* *Loquere cum presentibus verbis prateritis moribus vive*. And therefore am as ambitious to write modern *English*, as any *Gascon*, or *Provençal*, can be to write the modern *French*.

a Preface to Mr:  
Liles Saxon Monu-  
ments

You may communicate this Letter to as many of your Friends as you please; but you must take care to conceal my name, least if it be known, I pass for an Enemy to the People of God; and thereupon another *Mitchel* send me out of the World for a *Canaanite* or *Egyptian* with a brace of Bul'ets, or a *Durke*. The Narratives, I humbly conceive, are very profitable to be known: one of them affords an excellent example of counterfeited zeal, & the other of Hypocrisy, *Pharisaism*; which from the beginning of things hath always been the most powerful Engine, which the *Coraks* of all Ages, and Nations have used to draw the multitude into Faction, and Schism. Besides, the knowledge of these things will move all good Christians to pity the miserable condition of our Church, and to pray for her both to God, and the King, and likewise undeceive all ingenuous Spirits; that have had the unhappiness to be misguided by the false Informations which our Fanaticks send to yours. There is a more strict, and Mysterious correspondence betwixt them, than the present pains in which I write, will permit me to relate. But by that time I come next to *London*, I shall be able to discover the *Cabala* unto you, which I shall better talk in half an hour, than write in many days. In the mean time let us love, honour, and remember one another with pleasure and respect: let us pray for the improvement of our Church, the preservation of yours, and serve them both in our several stations to the utmost of our power.

I have no more to add, but to desire you to remember that my Style is *Advocate*, and not *Counsellor at Law*; there's almost none here knows what that Title means; So that the Post-master kept your last letter a week, before he could imagine it was directed to

Edinburgh, March  
the 5 h, 1677.

Your most Faithfull and Obedient Servant,



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